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بابائید تیرہ موی اور ان کی تصنیف ہدایت المخلصین
ڈاکٹر محمد صدیق

Chief Editor's Note

The hectic years of jubilations, aspirations and expectations in Central Asia have come to close. The tides have settled down, and the Republics are now busy in formulating their short term and long term policies and programmes for the future progress and development.

Centuries of association of Geo-political setting coupled with conquests and interactions and associations, has made the region a compact unit and thereby increasing the interdependence. The Tzrist policy on the whole was aimed at socio-political and economic enslavement of Turkistan; and the Communist Revolution was also not for better. However, the Russians after Revolution went further and started mass scale settlements of Slaves in the Central Asian Republics, thus tilting demographic balance in favour of the Slaves. The settlers usually exhibited arrogance towards the conquered, while the local populace aired their voices at many occasions but the heavy hand of Kremlin suppressed such expressions. To avoid any eventuality Moscow initiated economic policies of Monoculturalisation that resulted in the maximum inter-dependence of the Republics of Turkistan, as in case of white revolution in the production of cotton, which changed the face of entire Transoxiana, whereas the factories for the production of finished goods were in distant lands; Uranium enrichment facilities were available in Torkemenia, the Atomic Energy Reactors were located in Belarus, and war heads placed in Ukraine and their push button was in Moscow; Iron was extracted in Kazakhas-tan and Torkeministan and the plants for final processing were set in the European part of Russia. Locals were hardly exposed to modern technology and were infact left content with supplying the labour force while technical expertise was the domain of Russians. It was also a reality and is holding good even now, that the technical expertise always remained confined to the Russians, whereas the labour force was obtained from the Republics. In the field of Military services, the officers mostly hailed came from the Slavic race. Such a policy, followed for half a century was enforced with the basic motivating force i.e. inter-dependence.

Despite the strong constitutional safeguards, the ethenic conflicts and contradictions were also a factor in the formulation of the internal security policies. The un-ceremonial burial of communism and dismemberment of USSR offered independence to the each component of the erstwhile super power, and net result was the emergence of a Uni-polar world. It was the greatest achievement and an occasion of jubilation to the western world but with a mixed reaction. The collapse of the super power, demanded the financial and moral

support to the Republics; but the nuclear war heads were a big barrier. The extension of financial support was linked to the liquidation of nuclear authority. In the first phase the scheme worked well but in the course of events the Republics in possession of Nuclear war heads developed second thoughts. The nuclear club on the other hand is adamant to retain the sole authority, and they do not want to miss the opportunity available to them.

During the period a series of fact finding missions were deputed for on the spot assessment as to what the West can invest in the region. The private entrepreneurs of the West did not lag behind but doling out the bucks has no place in the Western Frameworks, if substantial dividends are not ensured. The swilled economy and the possession of Nuclear war heads, coupled with uncertainty were the main hurdle in the process, thus foreign aid so far almost turned to be a wildgoose chase. On the basis of analysis the only conclusion thus drawn is that the future of the Republics vests in the fact that the Republics should pool up their own resources. Russia in her own style is and will try to impose her authority on the Common Wealth Republics and is trying to maintain the hegemony; but an effective and viable economic policy, is an essential factor in doing away with such bottle necks. In view of the economic pull, the only choice left is the mutual cooperation with coordinated efforts.

Dichotomy in the foreign policy of U.S.A. towards global affairs is an open secret, and the recent American attitude towards Iraq, Bosnia-Harzegovina and Somalia is a clear indication. In identical situation, the global copts reaction lends ample support to the assumption.

Apparently U.S. A acts as an emancipated nation and this impression is gradually fading, and the process of decay has already set in the States' body politick undercurrents of religious and racial fanaticism. This may ultimately pose a severe threat to the stature of the States in order to retain the global leadership role, U.S.A. has to prove by actions and exhibition of the dearest principles of the country, specially in Central Asian Republics of Azarbijan, Kazakastan, Uzbekistan, Torkemina Tajkistan and Afghanistan.

The 6th July, 1993 Istambole Conference of Economic countries is a positive forward step in the direction of economic stability and interaction in political affairs; minimising the chances of intervention of global and regional powers.

The call of the time is strict follow up action on the resolutions passed in the Conference especially on integrated development of communication links, reconstruction of roads and especially linking the land locked Republics to hot waters; a dream of the big bear which never translated in her hey days. This will automatically revitalise their lost confidence and help them in building

up the required infrastructure for edifices of future so that the effects of monoculturalisation will come to an end in the course of time, such a policy may result in the mutual trust and reduce the tensions within the Republics.

Ethnic cleansing in the Balkanas, Nagarno-kara-bakh issues between Azarbaijan and Armenia can easily influence the tension ridden society and can trigger off the situation at any moment if adequate attention is not paid right in time.

The composition of the population in the Republics is very complex. The Uzbeks, Tajkis, Armenians, Turks, Russians are living side by side in the Common Wealth of Republics with a statistical variations. The transfer of population as such is impossible and if ever thought will be the greatest catastrophe severe than Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The defence of the Republics at the same time is equally important and in the immediate future may have to play the role in the process of its development. In the absence of the Moscow umbrella, guarding of the frontiers, and maintenance of tension free boarders can be their primary responsibility.

Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and India are to play a vital role in the process of reorganisation of the economic infrastructure in the Republics. The mutual cooperation may also help in reducing the intensity of burning problems of the region.

Mutual understanding can also bring peace in the poverty stricken countries of Asia and the entire region can emerge as an important homogenous economic block.

Keeping in view the present global context, India and Pakistan are certainly influencing the Republics; hence both the countries in the interest of human values, peace and prosperity in Central and South Asia are bound to play a lead role, therefore, sincere attempts on the basis of equality and mutual trust for resolving the bilateral and multilateral issues are to be initiated right now in order to avoid any eventual catastrophe.

Prof. A. M. Mattoo

FORERUNNERS AND SIMILAR FORMS OF THE STUPA

*Dr. Burchard Brentjes

The ritual meaning of the stupa as a memorial tumulus for the Buddha has been discussed very often, but has very rarely been understood properly. Generally one satisfies himself with the reference to the gravemound, whose monumentalized and ritualized form it is. It is not possible to explain all the ideas connected with the stupa, nor its artistic decoration and the time of its inception. Moreover, the stupa is not limited to Buddhism alone and nor all stupas were built as tumuli. Author's like Franz and Rowland refer to the relatively late coming in fashion of the stupa-cult into the Buddhism, presumably in the time of Ashoka.

The Buddhist literature gives the impression that veneration of the stupa as a copy of the grave-tumulus of the Buddha was established according to his own wish. In the *Mahaparinibbana Suttanta* is given a dialogue between the Buddha and his disciple Ananda. Ananda asks: "What should be done with the mortal remains of the Tathagatha?" And Buddha answers: "As it is done with the remains of a Cakravartin, Ananda, it should be done with the mortal remains of a Tathagatha. After the cremation of the body the remains should be buried in a tumulus, erected at a cross-road." Buddha was thus to be adored in the Stupa-tumulus in the same manner, as it was done in his lifetime, the 5th and 6th centuries BC, with the great rulers and princes of the north Indian states, buried after death in great tumuli.

Significant is the erection of the tumulus at a cross-road, i.e. a central point of the world, where as the column in the centre of the stupa represents the spine of the *Mahapurusa*, the ritual prototype of the Cakravartin. The world is rotating around this axis and it separates heaven and earth¹

The column carries at the same time the *chatras*, the worlds put one upon another. Therefore the thesis, that the hemispheric or egg shaped body of the stupa which in the evolved form stays on the quadratic plinth is a copy of a grave-tumulus, should be questioned. The complicated inner structure of stupas as the Ghantashala-stupa or the Mahacetiya-stupa, creates doubt. Rowland compares the stupa with the grave of a Cakravartin, not with a simple grave². The reproof to the Brahmagiri-cists does not solve the problem³ but the imitation of a whirl by the stoneslabs of the graves points to

* Prof. Fur Orientalische, Berlin

the processions, of moving around the stupa in the same sense.

Up to now there are no excavations of the princely graves in India, pertaining to this period but we have them in the Middle-Asia, whose (historical) connections with the North-East India are uncontested. The formation of the stupa as a Buddhistic cult-building was dated by Franz to the time of Asoka⁴, when the Buddhism was proclaimed as state religion. The terrace-stupa-a stupa standing upon a terrace- is connected, with the stupa of the Partho-Scythian city of Taxila which was erected by the Iranian Builders. Circle and square, combined here with a cuppola, filled completely, are old Indo-Aryain symbols, as it was shown time and again by the Soviet-Afghanian excavations at the Dashly-oasis⁵. Here buildings dating 2000 BC, were found having circle and square as constructive basic forms. One of these buildings at Dashly-3 is equal to the later Lamaistic mandala,⁶ to such an extent, that it should be accepted till date, the oldest source for such a world building conception. Funeral building, grave constructions, which remind of stupas, are found at the first place in Geoksur- culture,⁷ a culture of the bronze-age, nearly identical with the Quette-culture of Baluchistan.

East of the Aral sea, in the area of the Inkar-Darja and the Shany-Darja, developments of the concept could be followed from the 9th century BC, onwards to the formation of the stupa in the given period.

One of the most complicated funeral buildings is the oldest one in the necropolis of Tagisken, the round tholos Tagisken 5a, standing upon a square terrace⁸. It is a copy of a yurt, a funeral tent for a prince of an early nomadic tribe (9th century BC). A related nomadic tribe built in the 8th century BC the royal-grave Arshan in Tuwa. It is a circular wooden building made from about 6000 trees, surrounded by a stone circumvolution, 120 m in diameter. The central-building consists of two squares one in the other. It is surrounded by seven concentric rings of rooms. The structure reminds of the construction of the Ghantashala-stupa or the Mahacetiya-stupa. A so-called "stag-stone", a stela, decorated with figures of stags, could have stood above the centre⁹. The later tombs of Tagisken (7th-5th centuries BC) have a growing base and the main form is the circle. At a part of those socles stood temporary buildings, which were burned during the funeral celebrations.

Other graves have stable walls. It could be through the influence of the graves with solid tumuli of the same time, or it is that the grave-rooms were dug into a massive hill as at Cirik-Rabat. The buildings began to look more and more like the stupa.

These funeral buildings of Central Asia are the roots of the gravetowers of Parthian and later Islamic times. The mausoleum Babish-Mulla II (3rd- 2nd

century BC) is erected upon a terrace and it is square. The mausoleum Balandy II of the same period has a grave-chamber with a vaulted cover, with a ring of seven rooms around¹⁰. Balandy II represents the prototype of the later Islamic mausolea; and its inner chamber is a pseudostupa, hemispheric building above the grave.

The biggest monumentalization of the circular mausoleum in Central Asia is the royal grave-palace Koy-Krylgan Kala, built in the 4th century BC, representing again a funeral place as the centre of the world.

In the similar fashion we have the Cakravartun graves of the time of the Buddha, in which the Tagisken and Cirik Rabat funeral buildings have been erected.

Does this explain the connection of the idea of the grave and the centre of the world? Could we find the ritualized massive cuppola outside of India? The Parthians whose invasion of the Indus Valley brought with them the square terrace for the stupa. They knew a massive cultic monument in the form of a cuppola, represented on some royal coins. Newell described the main legend on the reverse of the coins, in eastern fashion, minted by Mithridates I, Phraates II and Artaban as "a figure, supposedly the deified Arsaces, symbolic hero of the Arsacid race, wearing the diademed bashliq and 'Persian costume', seated on an omphalos"¹¹

The comparison of the omphalos seems justified, with conus at a socle as the seat of the ancestor. Some representations look like as if a net covers the conus. If we look for a place, where such a stone (?) was adored as a seat for the ancestors, we come to the round room with a cuppola at Nisa-included in a cubus from bricks.¹² Similar are the stupa-chapels at Miran, East-Turkestan¹³

If we follow the designation of the Parthian ancestry-seat of the kings as 'omphalos', we reach the Graeco-Roman world and we find a cult-symbol, astonishing in its similarity to the stupa.¹⁴ Such omphaloi were often represented in art and some are preserved in original. The concept expressed as "naval" or "hump" represents the navel of the world and as a seat of the oracle of Gaea, the mother of the earth. In several temples it was used as altar and on some pictures of Heron it represents the grave.

The forms change from step cone to hemispheres and in some cases an omphalos upon a terrace stands upon a grave-hill¹⁵. The characteristic example is represented by the omphaloi, found at Delphi, which is compared by Herrmann with the Baityloe of Syria, and worshipped as the seat of the god for many centuries. In the temple of Apollo at Delphi was found a plaque in the Adyton, which is interpreted by Herrmann as follows "that at one half of the

plaque must have stood a round, and at the second half a nearly square centre-piece."¹⁶ At the round base should presumably have been the tripod of the Pythia and at the square base the omphalos - a picture reminding of the Parthian coins mentioned above. Similarly the cult symbol, a decorated conus upon a terrace as a rock-relief at Tang-i-Sarvak,¹⁷ venerated by an Elymaite king, is explained.

The Greek omphaloi and the Parthian "omphaloi" were no stupas, but they are related forms, connected with the conception of a centre of world and the royal cult. They are realizations of the same principle, expressed by the later stupa, beginning in the 3rd. century BC.

The combination of the idea of ritual centre of the world with the cult of the ruler in the form of a conus, developed in Central Asia out of the yurt to a princely grave in the form of a cuppula. The development of the stupa could not be separated from the development of similar forms in Central Asia, near East and in Greece. The form of the stupa upon a terrace is surely connected with Parthia. It might be that the prototype was an adaption of the Greek omphalos, The Greek may have come in contact with Ashoka's India at Afghanistan.

NOTES AND REFERENCES


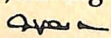
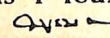
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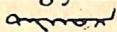
SIX UIGHUR WOODEN MOVABLE-TYPES PRESERVED IN TUN-HUANG ACADEMY

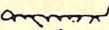





* YANG FU-HSUEH

The movable-type printing is a great invention of China and has clearly been recorded in Chinese historical accounts. But the real movable-types have not been found in Central Plains of China. Fortunately, after many centuries, hundreds of them were found in the Mo-kao Grottoes of Tun-huang. They are considered as the earliest movable-types. Most of them were brought to Paris by Professor Paul Pelliot of France, and the rest have been preserved in China, viz. the six wooden movable-Uighur types of Tun-huang Academy. As early as 1961, Professor Chang Hsiu-min mentioned these movable-types in his *Yuan-ming-liang-tai-mu-huo-tzu* (Wooden Movable-types of the Yuan and Ming Dynasties's).¹

Last year, Peking Historical Museum received the five movable-types from Tun-huang Art Institute. It is said that they are made of birch wood and they are the remains of what Paul Pelliot took to France. Now, they are exhibited in the Museum. But he had not provided the details. After speaking to the senior members of Tun-huang Art Institute (presently Tun-huang Academy), I came to know that even before 1949 the Academy was in possession of these wooden movable-types. In the absence of records we were not able to know the exact place of their discovery and about the person who discovered them. It is quite possible that they were donated to Tun-huang Academy by the natives. The place of discovery should be the same cave where Pelliot discovered so many wooden movable-types. Each of the six movable-types is 2.2 cms in height and 1.3 cms in width, same as those of P. Pelliot. But the length differs, the longest one being 2.5 cms while the shortest is 0.3 cms. All of them were made from a kind of hard wood (perhaps birch wood or jujube wood). This wood was cut into pieces with a saw and engraved with a knife. These pieces were not of the same size. Their sides were smooth, but repeated handling has made their colour slightly black. Five among them are in a good condition while only one is slightly split. Five among the six have engraving on one side only while the 6th one is an exception, having scripts on both sides. One side is , other side is , with the length of the two words being the same. When I formerly saw its photographs I found this movable-type to be very strange, and thought that the word  is not

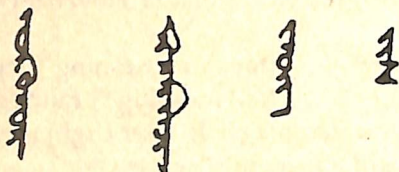
* Research Fellow Tun-Huang Academy, Tun-Huang, China.

in Uighur script. After careful consideration, I thought that printing couldn't be done if a single movable-type has engraving on both sides. Once I saw this movable-type, I realised that my doubts were justified.  is an original word but it was engraved wrongly. In order to save the trouble of making a new one, another word  was engraved on the other side. This explained the words on the movable-type (not including the wrong word) as follows:

1.  (tayanur) meaning "depend".
2.  (tal) meaning "branch of a tree" in ancient Turk-Uighur language. In later Uighur texts it is often used with "sogut", meaning "willow tree".
3.  (ti- or ta-) means "say"; in ancient Uighur language the verb, just like other words, is used only if accompanied with various suffixes. It gives exact meaning like tidi "he says", tidim "I say" and tip (adverb form of verb "ti-or tá-") etc.
4.  (man) meaning "I".
5.  This is a kind of mark of Uighur manuscripts.
6.  (-t) often emerges in Uighur texts in regular hand written form.

The Uighur script is one of the most prevalent scripts in the Uighur history and the existing texts in this script are very rich. It directly originated from "Sogdian Script of Central Asia" and was used by the Uighurs from the mid-7th cen A.D. In the mid-9th century following the decline of the Uighur Empire its people migrated westwards. They established four countries, viz. the Qoco Uighur Kingdom, Kan-chou Uighur Kingdom, Karakhanid and Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom². Among them, only Karakhanid abandoned the Uighur script and shifted to the Arabic script after being influenced by Islam in the middle of the 10th century. But the other three groups inherited the cultural tradition of the late Uighur Empire to a large extent. So, the Uighur script spread into the Hsin-kiang Uighur Autonomous Region and Ho-hsi, Corridor of Kan-su Province and later it reached to many regions of Central Asia and West Asia. During the 13-15th centuries it was used as the official script of the Kipchak (Chinese "Ch'in-cha") Empire, Chaghatai Empire and Timurid Empire, so much so that in those times, there was a saying that whosoever knows this script well, would not worry or suffer from hardships³. Approximately, from the 10th century the Uighurs had already mastered the block printing technology and used it for printing of Uighur texts. Upto the beginning of the Mongol-Yuan Dynasty, printing handicrafts was widely prevalent in Turpan⁴. It shows that Turpan became the most important centre for the Uighur culture. It is difficult to say whether movable-type printing was used or not at that time. There is however the evidence of movable-type printing in the Mo-kao Caves of Tun-huang, which was situated far away from the Qoco Uighur Kingdom and was the cultural centre for the Ho-hsi Uighurs.

In the beginning of this century, Pelliot explored Tun-Huang and found Uighur wooden movable-types in one of the caves numbering hundreds and all were brought to France by him. Most of them are kept at Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. Only a few were later transferred to other countries. Among them only the four preserved in U.S.A. have been published. Their inscriptions are as follows⁵.



Their meaning is "respect", "believe", "seven" and "thing" respectively. According to Paul Pelliot, all Uighur movable-types found by him belonged 13th century A.D.⁶ In reality, this must be the time when these movable-types were discarded and sealed up, but the period when they were engraved and used must be earlier than this. It is therefore necessary to discuss first of all the invention and the inventor of the wooden movable-types.

According to the Chinese accounts, movable-type printing was invented by Pi Sheng in the Ch'ing-li era (1041-1048 A.D.) of the Northern Sung Dynasty, Shen K'uo stated as follows:

"During the Ch'ing-li era, an ordinary man Pi Sheng started to create a movable-type plate. In this method he used clay movable-types which are of the thickness of coins, each relating to one word, and were hardened by burning. One iron plate was covered with a mixture of material from the pine tree material and paper ash. For printing, an iron model was placed on the iron plate and the iron model was fully covered by the movable-types. When the iron model was fully covered, a plate was formed which was baked with the mixture melting slowly. Then the surface of a plain plate is pressed on the type plate. After drying, movable-types on the board became clear. This method is not so simple if only two or three copies are to be printed. However, if hundreds or thousand of copies are to be made, this method seems very convenient...The reason why wood was not used is that the wood has a different texture. If water is added the board surface becomes rough. The mixture will then stick to the board, and the movable-types cannot be removed"⁷.

The last sentence in the quotation is very important. It suggests that at that time Pi Sheng had tried to make movable types from wood but his wooden types were so thin that they easily changed their shapes when mixed with water. Moreover, they easily stuck to the mixture and could not be removed. Therefore, his wooden movable-types were not used. Generally, Wang Chen

is considered to be the first person who used the wooden movable-types to print books in the 13th century. Wang Chen recorded his method as follows:

"At present a more skilled and convenient method is created. In this method, wooden boards are made and bamboo piece are used to form squares on these boards on which characters are engraved, then cutting these wooden boards into squared pieces with a small saw, one piece will form one movable-type; the sides of these movable-types are, then smoothened with a small knife and given a uniform size, and then they are arranged in rows, the gapes between the pieces are filled with flat bamboo. After the print board is filled by movable-types, it is fixed with wood shavings so that the movable-types do not move and printing can be done with chinese ink" ⁸.



Wang Chen summed up the experience and lesson of Pi Sheng and changed the wooden movable-types from thin pieces to square ones, and eliminated the difficulties met by Pi Sheng. From the historical records, when he was an official of King-te County in An-hui province, he composed his *Nung Shu*; as this book was voluminous and hence difficult to print, he invented this new method of publishing. He asked the carpenters to prepare about 30,000 wooden movable-types. He hoped to publish his *Nung Shu* with these movable-types, but he had to move to Kiang-hsi province as an official, so his book *Nung Shu* was published from there by block printing. His set of movable-types was used only to publish *Ta-te-king-te-hsien-chinh* edited by him in the second year of that era (1298 A.D.)⁹. Apart from this, he did not use them again. In 1322 A.D., Ma Ch'eng-te, a prefectural governor of Feng-hua in Che-kiang Province used the movable-type printing to publish *Ta-hsueh-yen-i* etc.¹⁰. It should have been only after this period that his method spread to other regions especially to northern China. It can therefore be said that the creation of the above mentioned Uighur wooden movable-types cannot be later than Wang Chen's. Unfortunately, this fact has not attracted the attention of the academic world. For example, printing expert Chang Hsiu-min states :

"The wooden movable-types were not only used in Central Plains of China, but also in the areas inhabited by minority nationalities. The Uighur wooden movable-types were once found in the Mo-kao Caves of Tun-Huang. They all were made of hard wood which was cut into pieces of different sizes by saw" ¹¹.

His view is supported by Ch'eng Sho-luo who deals with it in a more detailed manner in his work.

"The date when Wang Chen started printing was during 1295-1300 A.D. i.e. from the first year of the Chen-yuan era to the fourth year of

the Ta-te era, while he was an official of King-te County in shen-tung Province" ¹². "Moreover, the date of the Uighur movable-wooden types is around 1300 A.D. Therefore, it is possible that during the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty when a vast amount of Buddhist Sutras was translated and printed in Tun-huang and Turpan, Wang Chen's method of printing books by the wooden movable-types was adopted. So the Uighur wooden movable-types are evidence of the Uighurs adopting Wang's method" ¹³.

Although this view is more prevalent, it is necessary to review it. As is well known, the Uighur script and the Chinese script belong to two completely different systems; Chinese characters being square in shape. It does not matter whether there are many strokes or only a few, but each word is printed in the same size. Thus, Wang Chen's wooden movable-types are same in size. But this method cannot be directly used in the Uighur script because the latter belongs to syllable language and its words are similar only in their height and width but not in their length. And further, in Chinese one movable-type can express only one word, but in Uighur only a part of the movable-types can be made in this way while the rest cannot be made thus. For example, both the movable-types of nouns and verbs are not made in the same way, because the nouns are always used with suffix to express the six cases, and the verbs must be used with various suffix to express in particular the mood and tense. The suffixes of the verbs are so many that each word has tens of forms. If each complete form of verbs is to be made in a movable-type, the movable-types for the verbs alone will be more than 100,000, which is unimaginable. Therefore, the suffixes must have been made separately and these could be added to word roots according to the need. The Uighur movable-types  (ti-or ta-) and  (-t) mentioned above are good examples of roots and suffixes of verbs respectively. So we can say that the Uighur wooden movable-types cannot be created easily and in a short time by adopting the Chinese movable-types. As is well known, Pelliot's conclusion on the date of these movable-types originated from the archaeological evidence. Here I will add other Chinese historical accounts to support his conclusion. It can be seen from Uighur inscriptions of the Tung-huang Caves (including the Mo-kao Caves and Western Thousand Buddhas Caves of Tung-huang, and the Yu-lin Caves of An hsi) that some Uighurs groups lived in Tun-huang area during the 14th century. But the Chinese historical accounts have not mentioned them. This fact shows that at that time, the Uighurs of Tun-huang were very few in number, a majority of them having migrated westwards to the border region between Kan-su, Ch'ing-hai and Hsin-Kiang. In the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, eight garrisons, including the Sha-chou (presently Tun-huang) Garrison were established in the western region of the Chia-yu Pass. Note should be taken that only the Uighurs in An-ting Garrison, A-tuan Garrison, Ch'u-hsien Garrison and Han-tung Garrison were mentioned while the Uighurs of Tun-huang were not mentioned ¹⁴. From

the foregoing discussion it may well be deduced that dates for these movable types are slightly earlier, than 1300 A.D. which generally coincides with Palliot's view. Thus we believe that the inventors of the wooden movable-types are the Uighurs. Certainly, these movable-types must have been influenced by those of Pi Sheng of the Northern Sung Dynasty, whose clay movable-types were earlier than those of the Uighurs by over two hundred years. The discovery of the Uighur wooden movable-type printing had spread westwards into Central Asia as early as the Mongol-Yuan Dynasty¹⁵. And, the invention of the wooden movable types is a great contribution to world culture by the Chinese and the Uighurs.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT :- Editors acknowledge their indebtedness to Nidhi Nagpal for translating the paper from Chinese to English.

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THE SHARDA ALPHABET - A Link Between Kashmir and Central Asia.

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Kashmir though geographically not included in Central Asia has been an important member of what is called the Central Asian Cultural family. There is ample evidence to attest the incessant flow of the movements of men, ideas and culture from Kashmir to Central Asia and vice versa from the pre-historic times. The cultural links established pretty long time ago and cemented by the ruling chiefs ruling over both Kashmir and Central Asia, traders and the religious missionaries of the two regions over the years remain vital and unsevered even to-day. Efforts are afoot to make an indepth study of the close and intimate cultural links between Kashmir and Central Asia which by now have stood the test of time. The present brief study is also a humble attempt in this direction.

The traders and religious missionaries from Kashmir journeyed through inhospitable tracts and barren sand dunes amidst adverse climatic conditions and established habitats in and around the oasis scattered allover the desert lands of Central Asia. These in course of time became hub of trade and cultural activities and grew into powerful centres of Central Asian culture and civilisation.¹ The traders and missionaries carried with them besides other things the knowledge of Indian alphabets which soon became popular in this part of Asia and remained in use for several centuries. This is attested to by large number of manuscripts, inscriptions and coins that have come to light from different parts of Central Asia and which are written in the Indian alphabets of Brahmi and Kharoshti. While Kharoshti, the use of which was confined to N.W. India and Central Asia, ceased to be a popular mode of writing after the 4th century, the Brahmi continued to be popular script of a major part of Asia and was used extensively in the countries situated in the Central, Southern and South-eastern parts of the continent. In the course of its development the Brahmi characters assumed different forms in different areas of its use and by about 7th and the succeeding centuries the original appellation gave way to new regional denominations like Central Asian Brahmi, Tibetan, Bangala, Oriya, Nagari, Maharashtri, Tamil, Telegu etc. These scripts though direct descendants of the Brahmi showed several characteristic peculiarities as to justify new nomenclatures.

The Sharada also called Kashmiri or Koshur was one such

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denomination. It evolved as a direct descendant of the Brahmi in Central Asia, Afghanistan, North-Western Pakistan and India (Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh) and though its characters showed remarkable resemblance with earlier Brahmi characters in use in the area exhibited several peculiar developments as to justify a new appellation². It made its appearance first in the 9th. century as is indicated by the available records found in Afghanistan, NWFP included Gilgit and Chilas, Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh³. It was an alphabet of Kashmir par excellence and owed its name to the valley which from ancient times bore the alternative name of *Sharada-desha* or *Sharada mandala*. Needless to say that like the Brahmic and the Kharoshti in ancient period the Sharada script became an important vehicle of communication between Kashmir and Central Asia from early Medieval period. This is indicated by large number of records discovered so far, a brief mention of a few important epigraphic and literary documents may be made below.

The inscriptions and the coin legends of the rulers of the famous Hindu Shahi dynasty of Kabul and Gandhara (NWFP) are written in this script. The more important include the inscriptions of Bhimadeva Shahi, ruler of Kabul and Gandhara (NWFP) and maternal grand-father of the queen Didda of Kashmir⁴, Jayapaladeva Shahi, successor of Bhimadeva Shahi,⁵ and his queen Kameshvari Devri.⁶ The history of this famous dynasty which stood as bulwark of Indian defence against foreign invasion for several centuries was little known till the time of Al-Beruni who in his famous magnum opus *Kitab-ul Hind* gave an illustrious account of this dynasty⁷. His narration is aptly supported by the inscriptions and coins that have come to light. The king Mahmud of Ghazni after his incursions into India was obliged to adopt the Sharada alphabet, the alphabet par excellence of the region in his time, for his coin legends⁸.

That Kabul-Gandhara region was very rich in literary and scientific activities is indicated by the discovery of some important manuscripts in the Sharda characters in this area. The most valuable is the famous Bakshali Manuscript, the title of which is not preserved and the present appellation is due to the name of the place of its discovery.⁹ It contains an important work on mathematics and is known for its several distinct peculiarities not traceable in the early Indian mathematical treatises. The last known Sharada record from the Kabul-Gandhara (NWFP) region belong to 1461 A.D.¹⁰.

While the continued use of the Brahmi script in Central Asia led in course of time to the development of its Central Asian variety it is not exactly known when the Sharada alphabet the direct descendant of Brahmi made its appearance in Central Asia. While the Brahmi and the Kharoshti scripts of Central Asian varieties have been closely studied and analysed, the Sharada alphabet of Central Asia has not received the attention it deserved. It may be due to the paucity of the published material for study as most of the epigraphic

and literary records discovered from different parts of the region and now preserved in different museums and libraries of the world still remain undocumented, uncatalogued, unedited and unpublished. This is all the more regrettable as bulk of the written material discovered from Central Asia like the Bower¹¹ and Bakshali Manuscripts and the Kharoshti Tablets¹² are secular in nature and shed flood of light on the contemporary socio-economic and cultural life of the people and on the development of scientific and technological studies in the region.

In Kashmir the earlier Brahmi alphabet was replaced by its descendant the Sharada also called Kashmiri or *Koshur* around 9th, Century when the alphabet makes its appearance in the coins and inscriptions of king Avantivarman (855-883 A.D.)¹³. It was the only alphabet in use in the valley from the 9th, Century till the advent of Muslim rule in the 14th century, as is indicated by the epigraphic and numismatic records, only a limited number of which, however, has been preserved though at one time Kashmir was very rich in epigraphic wealth as is attested to by Kalhana who utilized this enormous source for writing his *Rajatarangini*¹⁴.

The advent of Muslim rule led to the introduction of Persio-Arabic script technically called *Nastalikh* in the valley by the Central Asian Sufi saints, scholars and Islamic missionaries. However, even with the introduction of the new mode of writing the use of the Sharada script was not discarded. Its use continued unabated and soon became popular with the sultans and Central Asian saints and scholars, just as the Persio-Arabic script was in no time mastered by the non-Muslim population of the valley. Henceforth, both the scripts came to be used side by side both in official and private documents. Many court documents belonging to the 15th and the subsequent centuries are written both in the Sharada and the *Nastalikh* and the popular use of both the scripts is amply demonstrated by the epitaphs on several graves discovered in different cemeteries in the valley which are written both in the Sharada and the *Nastalikh*. As an example may be cited the famous epitaph of one Said Khan inscribed on a grave in the cemetery near the Western gate of Hariparbat in Srinagar which is dated in the reign of Muhammad Shah (1484-1528 A.D.)¹⁵. The Sharada epigraphic records of the Sultanate period belong to the reigns of Shihab-ud-Din (1354/55-1373 A.D.)¹⁶, Sikandar (1389-1413 AD)¹⁷ Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70 A.D.)¹⁸ and Hasan Shah (1472-1484 AD)¹⁹. The famous will or '*wasiyat'-namah* of the famous sufi saint Maqdoom Saheb is written both in the Sharada and the *Nastalikh*.

Thus both the Sharada and the *Nastalikh* scripts became vehicles of communication in Kashmiri, Sanskrit and Persian languages. Many well known Persian texts of Central Asia on folk lore, literature, medicine, science and technology were transcribed from *Nastalikh* into Sharada script and several

known Sanskrit and Kashmiri texts from Sharada into Nastalikh to facilitate their study.

It is not unlikely that besides Kashmir and Kabul-Gandhar region, the practice of the simultaneous use of the Sharada and the Nastalikh was followed in other parts of Central Asia. Thus like the Brahmi and the Kharoshti in the earlier period the Sharada script in the medieval period was a vital link in the chain of transmission of ideas, knowledge and culture between Kashmir and Central Asia.

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ETHNONATIONALISM IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES

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The Soviet literature defined an ethnos as "a stable aggregate of people, historically formed on a certain territory possessing common, relatively stable features of language, culture, and psyche and a consciousness of their unity and differences from other similar formations (Identity), fixed in a name for themselves (ethnonym)"¹.

A common language is considered as the most important objective attribute of an ethnos. The other attributes of ethnos are common customs, ceremonies, rites, rituals, folk art, and religion etc. A common language and folk art and traditions, in short, constitute the minimal objective attributes of an ethnos; whereas a maximalist definition of an ethnos encompasses other attributes, such as religion, culture and an awareness of belonging to a distinct historically evolved politic-cultural and socio-economic system. An ethnos is an intermediary social category in the evolution of society between tribal social formation and a nation. Whereas, the Soviet concept of nationality was simply based on numbers, peoples belonging to a large ethnic group living in contiguous regions were termed as nationalities whereas small groups scattered over an extensive territory were classified as ethnoi.

Following the minimalist approach Soviet ethnographers and anthropologists identified a large number of ethnic groups particularly in the Asiatic parts of the USSR, on the basis of dialects and local folk traditions. Of course dialects were given scripts and developed into languages during the Soviet period². The result was the emergence of one of the most diverse poly-ethnic states.

Prior to its formal dissolution the Soviet Union was one of the most diverse multinational states. The 1979 Soviet census enumerated as many as 104 ethno-nationalities. Of these fifty Slavic ethnic groups belonging to the Christian Orthodox faith had been or on the way of being successfully assimilated by the Soviet policy of Russification; twenty four ethno-nationalities belonging to the Islamic faith and concentrated in Central Asia, Transcaucasia and Volga-Tatar region have stubbornly resisted the Russian policy of assimilation and maintained their distinct religious and ethnic identities. Likewise two other historically important nationalities having their own republics

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situated, as they are in a geostrategically important region are the Armenians and the Georgians. They, too, have maintained their distinct identities. Similarly the Baltic peoples and Moldavians refused to be intimidated by the harsh treatment noted out to them by Stalin and his successors³.

Of the 104 ethno-nationalities 53 had their own autonomies (republics 15, autonomous republics 20, autonomous regions 9 and autonomous areas 10). And of the 20 autonomous republics 16 were in the RSFSR, two in Georgia, one in Uzbekistan and one in Azerbaijan. The Russians, besides constituting a majority (52% approximately) of the total Soviet population were spread over in almost all the Soviet Republics. In 1979 the percentage of Russians in non-Russian republics varied from 41% in Kazakhstan to 10.8% in Uzbekistan, 10.41% in Tajikistan, 12.6% in Turkmenistan, 25% in Kirghizia and 7% in Azerbaijan. The available published data of 1989 Soviet Census does not give this nationality-wise break-up of Soviet population. However, a popular Soviet publication, the *Soviet Year Book of 1989* gives the following brief data⁵:

Name of the republic	Percentage of Population		Nationalities
	Russians	Non-Russian	
1. RSFSR	83%	Not given	
2. Ukraine	21%	Ukrainians	74%
		Jews	1%
		Byelorussians	1%
3. Belarus	12%	Byelorussians	79%
		Ukrainians	2%
		Jews	1%
4. Uzbekistan	11%	Uzbeks	69%
		Tatars	4%
		Kazakhs	4%
		Tajiks	4%
5. Kazakhstan	41%	Kazakhs	36%
		Ukrainians	6%
6. Georgia	7%	Georgians	69%
		Armenians	9%
		Azerbaijanis	5%
		Ossetians	2%
		Abkhazians	10%

7. Azerbaijan	8%	Azerbaijanis	78%
		Armenians	8%
		Nakichevans	4.5%
8. Moldavia	13%	Moldavians	64%
		Ukrainians	14%
		Gagauz	4%
		Jews	2%
9. Kyrghyzstan	26%	Kyrghiz	48%
		Uzbeks	12%
10. Tajikistan	8%	Tajikistan	62%
		Uzbeks	22%
		Kyrghyz	1%
		Ukrainians	0.8%
11. Turkmenistan	9%	Turkmens	72%
		Uzbeks	9%
		Ukrainians	1%

Of the many factors such as religious and cultural differences, a deep sense of economic and political deprivation among the Central Asians, Transcaucasians and Baltic nationalities, the memories of Stalinist excesses etc which had kept the Russians and non-Russians apart, in the seventies a new factor of equal concern to the Russians and some non-Russian nationalities alike was the differential rate of reproduction among various Soviet nationalities. The Balts whose birth rate was the lowest felt that they would be reduced to a minority in their own republics where the Russian population had swarmed in the preceding decades. The Russians felt equally uneasy on the considerably high birth rate among the Muslims of Central Asia and Transcaucasia. As the percentage of Russian population started declining in Central Asia and Transcaucasia the Soviets resorted to club the population of Germans, Ukrainians and other European nationalities with that of the Russians creating the feeling of bad blood among them. Secondly the Soviets tried, through incentives and later coercion, to promote outmigration of the Central Asians but achieved no success. Another significant fall out of the growing differential birth-rates was felt on the composition of the Red Army which was increasingly becoming yellow⁶. The Russians, who (particularly in the Asian republics) were already feeling discriminated due to the native assertion and growing competition for employment in the republican institutions, looked towards Moscow to pressurise the local communist leadership to protect their interests. With each passing year their nervousness in the absence of any help or interference on their behalf from Moscow continued to grow.

By the late seventies the impact of oil-boom in the Gulf countries had reached the Soviet Union. Soviet scholars were at pains to observe the resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism which they pointed out was undermining the Soviet policy of promoting atheism⁷. Soviet-Marxist ideologies revised the anti-religious campaigns to prevent the penetration of Islamic consciousness. Some enthusiastic anti-religious zealots started even attacking the Chai-Khanas (tea-houses) which according to them were being used by underground Islamic and nationalist groups for propagating their ideas⁸.

The constant inflow of information about the growing prosperity in the Muslim Gulf countries on the one hand and a relative decline of opportunities of gainful employment due to the stagnant Soviet economy were some of the objective factors in preventing the revival of spirit of proletarian internationalism. The Central Asian Muslim youths were drifting towards Islam. By the time Gorbachev came to power Soviet society was a sharply divided house. The poor performance or non-performance of the Central Asian soldiers in Afghanistan had sent clear signals to the Soviet leaders that the old command and central administrative Soviet system had failed in promoting inter-ethnic solidarity among various Soviet nationalities.

More or less similar economic political and cultural developments in Western Europe particularly the economic recovery in West Germany and growing economic and political integration and prosperity in the European Economic Community were undermining the ideological foundation of Soviet power in Ukraine Moldavia and the three Baltic republics.

An unrelenting pursuit of international arms race accompanied by an expansionist policy involving liberal support to the overseas Communist regimes and national liberation movements did not allow the Brezhnev regime to devote the required attention and resources to the escalating domestic disorder. Perhaps the regimented Soviet system was largely responsible for the growing neglect of the social chaos. It is quite possible that President Brezhnev might not have been even aware of the rot the Soviet society had fallen into. Until the mid eighties the Soviet volcano of ethnic unrest remained subterranean. Only the specialists and all-pervasive KGB had some knowledge of it. But as yet they were all drumming the swansong of proletarian internationalism. In his report at the party congress the party General-Secretary Leonid Brezhnev claimed that the nationality question had been resolved⁹. In 1983 Soviet Academician Fedoseev wrote that "we all rejoice over the outstanding achievements of the peoples of the national republics of the Soviet Union". He further claimed that these achievements are unprecedented in world history¹⁰. However, the reality was just the opposite; the old problems had multiplied and a host of new ones taken firm roots which were being nursed by rampant corruption nepotism and a thriving parallel black market economy.

By the time Mikhail Gorbachev assumed the reins of power in March 1985 the Soviet Union was not only faced with the problems of a stagnant economy but a widening and growing gulf of mutual mistrust between the Russians and the non-Russians. Though the open manifestation of ethno-nationalism or inter-ethnic violence was not yet known inside the Soviet Union due to strict control over Soviet media, the world knew about the Soviets concern of Islamic fundamentalism and emergence of a nationalist movement in Russia in the form of *Pamiat* (Memory). The Soviet Jews demand for migration to Israel and the Crimean Tatars occasional protests demanding rehabilitation in their homeland from where they had been forcibly evicted by Stalin during the World War II. The Central Asians and Moldavians were demanding greater cultural and economic autonomy.

Similarly the *Pamiat* (Memory) Nationalist movement in RSFSR was increasingly attracting the Russian youths. Nevertheless most of nationalist movements, except those in the Baltic republics where the Balts were aspiring for independence had limited objective of greater political and cultural autonomy.

The introduction of radical reforms by Mikhail Sergevitch Gorbachev whetted the nationalist aspirations throughout the country. The first outburst of deep anti-Russian feelings manifested in December 1986 in Alma-Ata, the capital of the second largest Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan. The Kazakh youths during the violent protest against the dismissal of Dinmukhammad Kunayev, the first Secretary of Kazakh Communist party and the appointment of Gennedy Kolbin, a Russian Party official in Kunayev's place raised the slogan "Kazakhstan for Kazakhs". Dubbing the Kazakh demonstrators as drunkards, drug-addicts, anti-social elements and the followers or children of the old Kazakh corrupt elite, the Soviet authorities crushed the rioters without assuaging the nationalist aspirations of the Kazakhs. The harsh treatment of the protesters temporarily restored the calm but it ripped apart the make-believe unity of the Soviet peoples in Central Asia. Instead of taking any serious note of the deteriorating inter-ethnic relations Gorbachev too parroted the traditional Soviet hymn on the nationality question when he claimed "we have every right to say that the nationality question has been solved in our country"... and described the friendship of the Soviet peoples as "a unique thing in world history."

Similarly the initial impact of Gorbachev political reforms of democratisation and policy of *glasnost* (openness) in other Soviet republics was to bring on the surface the nationalist forces and movements. In spite of his commitment to reforms and democracy President Gorbachev did not show any sympathy towards or understanding of the nationalist movement and sought to crush them or explained them in terms of excesses of his predecessors. And since Gorbachev was trying to lay the foundation of real democracy in place of a

socialist democracy based as it was on democratic-centralism he thought the people would not be misled by narrow parochial nationalism. However as the power struggle between the reformist and the conservative factions in the CPSU at the Centre on the one hand and nationalist-separatists and communist-integrationist forces in the republics on the other deepened, the inter-ethnic conflicts in the bordering republics of Moldavia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Tajikistan flared up.

The failure of the August 1991 coup struck a moral blow to the conservative Communists who were striving to maintain some sort of unity among the republics. However, they still retained considerable influence in the republics both on the local communist leaders and on the minority ethnic groups.

Even a cursory glance at the inter-ethnic conflicts now raging in Moldavia, Georgia, Armenia-Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh enclave and Tajikistan shows a pattern of minority ethnic groups fighting against the titular nationalists which are aspiring to regain their independence. For instance in Moldavia the conflict is between the Moldavians and the minority groups of Russians, Ukrainians and Gagauz who together constitute about 31% of the republic's population and are concentrated in Trans-Dnister region. The Moldavians want to completely break-away from the CIS/Russia and join with the neighbouring country-Romania. Before the World War II Moldavia was a part of Romania.

In Georgia the Abkhazians and Ossetians against the nationalist Georgians, in Azerbaijan the Armenian minority of Nagorno-Karabakh against the Azeris, and in Tajikistan the former conservative communists against the Muslim fundamentalists and democratic forces enjoy wide support of Russia and other republics where the former communists still dominate the political scene.

Prior to the abortive August 1991 coup there had been stray incidents of inter-ethnic violence in Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine. After the coup Boris Yeltsin who was then President of RSFSR, threatened to reopen the inter-republic border question in order to incorporate bordering Russian majority districts of Kazakhstan, Byelorussia and Ukraine into Russia. President Nursultan Nazarbaev in turn threatened that reopening of the border question would lead to inter-republican wars. Boris Yeltsin cooled down. Had he not retraced from his position it would have transformed the decadent Soviet Union into an inter-ethnic inferno.

Another important factor preventing the escalation of inter-ethnic conflict to the larger and powerful republics was the creation and evolution

of the Commonwealth of independent States. The original Minsk Agreement of December 8, 1991 forming a Commonwealth of Independent States was among the three powerful Slavic Republics of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine. The Central Asians and Transcaucasians were not invited to the Minsk meeting but the CIS Agreement kept the membership open to them. Had it not been so or had they not joined the Commonwealth the inter-ethnic or to be more correct inter-republican conflicts would have become more widespread and grave than they are today. Moreover, it would have further complicated the already complex power struggle among the democratic, religious fundamentalist and the communist forces in Central Asia and Transcaucasia.

Assessment:

The formal dissolution of the Soviet Union does not mean an end of intra-elite power struggle in Russia and in other republics. The period of transition towards complete independence is likely to remain tumultuous. But there appear to be no probability of re-unification of the former Soviet Union. However, if under the influence of some of the republics under pressure from outside or inside majority ethno-nations or religious fundamentalist forces try to hasten this process of complete separation they would remain engulfed in the inter-ethnic violence. Similarly if the conservative communists try and make attempts to halt or reverse the process of decolonization as many nationalists in the republics call the dissolution of the USSR it may lead to spreading the inter-ethnic conflicts to Russia and Kazakhstan in particular and to other republics in general.

Adopting a maximalist approach to ethno-nation in Central Asia the Pan-Turkic and Muslim fundamentalists are clamouring for creating a united states of Turkistan by ignoring the historical process of formation of distinct ethno-nation identities during the preceding decades. Such demands are likely to revive old tribal conflicts. Therefore most of the present leaders and intellectuals are against any such grandiose ambitions of nation-building. They favour functional cooperation in various economic social and cultural spheres.

Similarly after the present problems pertaining to the division of Soviet assets and liabilities are overcome Russia, Belarus and Ukraine may evolve a loose confederation. Any attempt to completely break away would be resisted by Russia as it will certainly result in reopening of the issue of borders between various republics. The present leadership consists, as it is of the former communists, in most of the constituent republics of the CIS is aware of the potential threat, the reopening of the inter-republican borders can pose. However, some republics situated on the outlying regions of periphery such as Moldavia Georgia Azerbaijan Armenia and Tajikistan are witnessing growing inter-ethnic conflicts which may be related with intra-elite power struggle in Russia besides ofcourse the internal social contradictions in the respective

republics.

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8. *Kommunist Uzbekistan*, 4, 1985. At the Uzbekistan Communist Party Plenum held on 29 March 1985, the Party resolved to put an end once for all to the survival of religion in the area", *Pravda Vostoka* of 27 September, 1985 reported that Islamic Monuments, madrasahs and mosques had been converted into places of tourist attractions.
9. *XXVI CPSU Congress Documents And Resolutions*, Soviet Land Booklet New Delhi 1981 pp. 56-69.
10. See *Bakinskii Rabochii* December 7, 1983, see also P.N. Fedoseev et al *Leninism And National Questions* Moscow, 1977.
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GULSHAN-I-DASTUR: AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION ON THE MODE OF PAYMENT OF SALARY IN MEDIEVAL KASHMIR

* M.A.Kaw

No genuine social research on the 18th Century Kashmir can truly be complete without the in-depth study of one of the most indispensable source like Gulshan-i-Dastur. The work in fact combines in itself the requisite traits entailed for an exhaustive administrative manual. It offers a scientific explanation, besides all else,¹ to the complex agrarian issues like per-unit crop yields, magnitude of land revenue, mode of its payment, pattern of its collection, working of the cumbersome Jagirdari and Ijaradari systems, nature of the state-peasant relationship, etc. A sufficient space has been equally reserved in it for a comprehensive description of numerous indigenous crafts, their price-index and the areas particularly specialised in their production. Last but not least, one comes across sufficient material on the method in vogue for the payment of salary to the official community in medieval Kashmir.

In the very beginning, the chronicler has conveyed the impression that the then state employees were divided into various grades whose pay varied accordingly. They were either paid for their "revenue assignments"² in cash or kind. Notwithstanding the truth that the details pertaining to their grade-wise pay are shrouded in obscurity; it remains fairly established that only a few of them were remunerated on the daily-wage basis. This logically sounds that the fate of many of them was guided by contemplative mechanism of "monthly payments" whereunder their annual emoluments were first estimated in rupees and *dams*³ and then paid for month after month. The chronicler has over-simplified the implication of this newly evolved scheme with the support of an example whereby he argued that an official recruited for the complete twelve months received rupees 2,500 as gross salary. This, according to the chronicler, entitled the official to an amount of rupees 208 for one month, rupees 1,250 for six months and rupees 2,083 and 5 1/4 *annas*⁴ for ten months respectively. The author has distributed the accruing annual amount over the different months of the year in the following manner :-

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1 Number of the Months	2 Amount of pay calculated in rupees and annas
For one month	208 ⁵
For two months	Not given
For three months	600 ⁶
For four months	866-10 ½ ⁷
For five months	1083-5 ½ ⁸
For six months	1250
For seven months	1458 - 5¼ ⁹
For eight months	1663 - 10 ½ ¹⁰
For nine months	Not given
For ten months	2083- 5 ½ ¹¹
For eleven months	Not given
For twelve months	2,500

Needless to say that initially the mechanism of "monthly payments" was tried purely for the employees in service for full one year. But in due course of time, its scope was extended even to the officials employed for less than twelve months.

Regarding the question whether their month-wise pay was dispensed in cash or kind, the author remarks that whereas an influential section of the employees received their pay in cash from the treasury, the services of a substantial number of them were still remunerated in terms of *kharwars*¹² of paddy, being the principle commodity in exchange then. After all why should the payment be made in kind? The author has no explanation to this question. This was perhaps the offshoot of the two factors; first, limited money economy;¹³ and second, state's instant exigency to exhaust its huge stocks of *shali* (unhusked rice) collected in the form of the land revenue from the peasantry.¹⁴ Viewed in this backdrop, the state may have been left with no alternative but to commute the pay of its officials into *kharwars* of paddy.

How many *kharwars* of paddy should normally the pay of an official fetch in, depended in fact upon the extent of his salary and the rate at which his pay was commuted into kind. To the last effect, the author maintains that usually each *kharwar* carried two types of rates¹⁵. Whereas, the first one remained almost static throughout the year, the second one, on the other hand, kept on changing during all the twelve months of the year. Thus, *kharwar* in money valued 24 *dams* since Shahjahan's time which was subsequently increased to 40 *dams* by Aurangzeb.¹⁶ *Kharwar* in kind, being the rate used for the conversion of the official pay into kind, valued distinctly as is explicit by the given schedule reflecting month-wise commutation rates :-

A Month-wise names of each <i>Kharwar</i>	B Commutation Rates per <i>kharwar</i> of paddy
First month <i>Kharwar</i>	480 <i>dams</i>
Second month <i>Kharwar</i>	240 <i>dams</i>
Third month <i>Kharwar</i>	160 <i>dams</i>
Fourth Month <i>Kharwar</i>	120 <i>dams</i>
Fifth month <i>Kharwar</i>	100 <i>dams</i>
Sixth month <i>Kharwar</i>	80 <i>dams</i>
Seventh month <i>Kharwar</i>	69 <i>dams</i>
Eighth month <i>Kharwar</i>	60 <i>dams</i>
Ninth month <i>Kharwar</i>	54 <i>dams</i>
Tenth month <i>Kharwar</i>	50 <i>dams</i>
Eleventh month <i>Kharwar</i>	44 <i>dams</i>
Twelfth month <i>Kharwar</i>	44 <i>dams</i>

The author is silent about the reason underlying the variation in the existing schedule. Probably, this was the result of a desire whereunder the state wanted to ensure stability in the relative price-level of the paddy which may have been most often disturbed by the factor of seasonal variation. Given this factor, one could not always expect the cost of the paddy to remain static. True, its cost should have normally remained low at the time of its harvesting. But once the stocks started exhausting, its cost may have quite logically gone up. In order to regulate the fluctuating trend and to transform the caused perplexity into easiness, the government seems to have justifiably worked out a durable scheme whereunder the average prices of the paddy *per-kharwar* were prescribed for all the twelve months separately, anticipating thereby the fall out of both the conditions of abundance and scarcity just well in time. This is why that 44 *dams* appear to be the ever-lowest commutation rate fixed for the twelfth and eleventh months each for they were probably the harvesting months; hence months of abundance. Thereafter, the rate recorded gradual increase owing to the gradual disappearance of the paddy from the market. Such a situation appears to have markedly continued up to the fifth month, thencefrom, the figure of commutation-rate points to a sharp increase simply because by this time the stocks were either fully exhausted or were about to be exhausted. Consequently, one finds the commutation-rates assuming highest proportions of 480 and 240 *dams* during the first¹⁷ and second months respectively for they were perhaps the months just near the next harvest season; hence, months of scarcity¹⁸.

Be it as it may be, the pay of the officials in terms of *kharwars* of paddy was determined by the above schedule. The existing relationship between the pay and the prescribed commutation-rates has been further unveiled by the chroni-

cler through an example with which he argues that if the pay of an official was one *tanka* (75 *dams*) during the sixth month of the year, he was instead to receive 15 *traks* of *shali* by virtue of the commutation rate of 80 *dams* stipulated for that particular month. The example helps us in building up a hypothesis which indicates that the quantum of the *shali* payable to the same official with the same pay could never remain identical for the remaining eleven months. Instead, a gradual increase was imminent in it right from the first to the last month of the year. The hypothesis is best reproduced in the given table for oversimplifications.

S.No.	Supposed Pay of the Official	Monthwise Name of the <i>kharwar</i>	Monthwise Commutation rates, prescribed per- <i>kharwar</i> , each being of 16 <i>Traks</i>	Net Quantity of the paddy payable to the official during the month he was in service
1.	75 <i>dams</i>	1st month <i>kharwar</i>	480 <i>dams</i>	$16/480 \times 75 = 2.49 \text{ traks}$
2.	-do-	2nd month <i>kharwar</i>	240 <i>dams</i>	$16/240 \times 75 = 4.99 \text{ traks}$
3.	-do-	3rd month <i>kharwar</i>	160 <i>dams</i>	$16/160 \times 75 = 7.05 \text{ traks}$
5.	-do-	5th month <i>kharwar</i>	100 <i>dams</i>	$16/100 \times 75 = 9.99 \text{ traks}$
6.	-do-	6th month <i>kharwar</i>	80 <i>dams</i>	$16/100 \times 75 = 12 \text{ traks}$
6.	-do-	6th month <i>kharwar</i>	80 <i>dams</i>	$16/80 \times 75 = 15 \text{ traks}$
7.	-do-	7th month <i>kharwar</i>	69 <i>dams</i>	$16/69 \times 75 = 17.39 \text{ traks}$
8.	-do-	8th month <i>kharwar</i>	60 <i>dams</i>	$16/60 \times 75 = 19.99 \text{ traks}$
9.	-do-	9th month <i>kharwar</i>	54 <i>dams</i>	$16/54 \times 75 = 22.22 \text{ traks}$
10.	-do-	10th month <i>kharwar</i>	50 <i>dams</i>	$16/50 \times 75 = 24 \text{ traks}$
11.	-do-	11th month <i>kharwar</i>	44 <i>dams</i>	$16/44 \times 75 = 27.27 \text{ traks}$
12.	-do-	12th month <i>kharwar</i>	44 <i>dams</i>	$16/44 \times 75 = 27.27 \text{ traks}$

The above hypothesis suggests that :

- (i) The quantum of paddy payable to an official in lieu of his salary was on the trend of a constant rise right from the first to the last month of the year;
- (ii) The rule of payment in kind was relatively equitable. This is evidenced by the reality whereby the quite low figures pertaining to the payable amount of paddy during the first few months have been fairly made up by the large figures of the later months.

- (iii) Since the schedule of the commutation-rates was set once for all, the quantity of paddy due to an official in a particular month of a year was to be repeated next year too without any addition or alteration. The change in it could certainly take place only when the pay of the official in itself underwent, little or large, increase or otherwise.
- (iv) And since the official community stood stratified on the grounds of pay-variation, it is very likely that the amount of the paddy received by them month-after-month may have differed employee-after-employee too.

Notes and References

1. The work has been compiled by one Nath Pandit S/O Tanay Pandit for his son Diya Ram Pandit, who, was then, in the service of the state. The work completed in and around the year 1753-54 A.D comprises numerous chapters, each significant in its own place for the plenty of contained material on such problems as pertain to the size of land under and out of cultivation, nature and use of certain non-agricultural products, the range of taxes realized on them, method of their collection, units of weight, measurement and currency. *Jama dami* and *Hal-i-Hasil* records of Shahjahan's and Aurangzeb's periods of rule, form the content material of few chapters. The details regarding the number of parganas constituting the then valley are analysed in the work. One of the chapters is devoted with a view to unravel the political history of Kashmir from the earliest times down to the reign of Noor-Ud-Din Khan Bamzai. Its chapter 43 deals with the topic under reference. Presently the work is available in the form of an manuscript in Research and Manuscript Division of Jammu and Kashmir State Libraries.
2. In persian language, it was called "Jagir" which denoted a piece of land, small or big, the revenue of which was assigned to an official in lieu of his civil or military services (For details, *Gulshani-Dastur* ff 270b, 274b - 303b; also the author's unpublished Ph.D thesis entitled "The Agrarian system of Kashmir, 1586-1819 A.D."
3. *Dam* was a copper coin in circulation during the Mughal period. According to the chronicler, 75 *dams* were equal to 1 *tanka*, a copper index of currency cop, cit, ff 271-73b). Irfan Habib has considered only 50 *dams* as equal to 1 *tanka* (*The Agrarian system of Mughal India*, New York, 1963, P112^{m5}).
4. Anna, an index of copper currency. 16 annas made 1 rupee (Irfan Habib, op. cit, P 380).
5. The actual amount should instead come to 208.33 rupees.
6. The actual amount should instead come to 624.99 rupees.
7. The actual amount should instead Come to 833.33 rupees.
8. The actual amount should have been 1041.66 rupees.
9. The actual amount should have been 1458.33 rupees.
10. The actual amount should come to a figure of 1666.66 rupees.
11. The actual amount should make 2083.33 rupees.
12. The term *kharwar* points to an unit of weight. Each *kharwar* was of 16 *traks* and each *trak* was

of eight Akbarshahi sers (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Blockmann, edn., p 90). According to Mir Izzatullah, only six Kashmiri sers made one Kashmiri *trak* (Travels in Central Asia, English, trans. Captain Handerson, p4).

Kharwar should also be taken to mean a unit of measurement equal to modern 32 kanals (Lawrance, *The valley of Kashmir*, 1967. p. 243)

13. It was due to the limited money circulation that Akbar had to order for the discontinuation of growing tendency among the Jagirdars to demand land revenue and other taxes in the form of silver and gold from the cultivators of Kashmir. (Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, III text., pp 726-27; Beveridge, II, P 1085) That land revenue was demanded in kind and that only some part of the *Sari-Jihat* cesses were realized in cash, is another proof of the above reality (Ain, II, H.S. Jarrett, *RASB Calcutta* 1949 pp 266-67). The prevalence of the tradition of barter system in which goods in place of money were exchanged, attests to the reality of shortage of money circulation.
14. The fact remains that the land revenue was demanded in Kashmir in much more the same form in which it was produced; hence, shared on the analogy of method of Nasaq-i-Ghallabakhsi (Crop-Sharing). Whatever was thus collected was deposited in the state granaries from where it was distributed among the non-agricultural sections of the society including both the employees and the shawl weavers. (Hassan Khoihami, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol I (Ms), Research And Manuscript Division of the Jammu and Kashmir State Libraries, ff 56a-b and 74 ab).
15. "Cash transaction not being the custom of the country... payments in coin and kind were estimated in *Kharwar*s of Shali, rice" even during the period of Akbar. (*Ain-i-Akbari*, H.S Jarrett, II, JASB, Calcutta, 1949, P 366). However, each *Kharwar* valued differently. *Kharwar* in cash valued 13. 8/25 dams. *Kharwar* in kind valued 29 dams. (Ibid)
16. According to *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, the rate in money of each *kharwar* of paddy was worth 480 dams during the ancient period.
17. From our viewpoint, the first month should be September-October. It is during this month that *Kharif* crop like paddy is harvested and remains thus available in plenty for the few subsequent months. The chronicler's information is obscure with regard to the fact as to which particular month is his first month.
18. Nath Pandit, furnishes the details about the value of the *tanka* in the following manner :-

1 <i>Tanka</i> = 75 dams	60 <i>tankas</i> = 4,500 dams
10 <i>tankas</i> = 750 dams	70 <i>tankas</i> = 5,250 dams
20 <i>tankas</i> = 1500 dams	80 <i>tankas</i> = 6,000 dams
30 <i>tankas</i> = 2250 dams	90 <i>tankas</i> = 6,750 dams
40 <i>tankas</i> = 3,000 dams	100 <i>tankas</i> = 7,500 dams
50 <i>tankas</i> = 3,750 dams	1,000 <i>tankas</i> = 75000 dams

(Op. cit, ff 273 a-b)

PULSES IN THE ANCIENT AGRICULTURE OF KASHMIR

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Introduction

Pulses belonging to family Fabaceae of flowering plants, are next in importance to cereals as sources of human food. They are very rich in proteins besides containing substantial amounts of carbohydrates and lipids. Some of them like lentils and peas have been associated with the agriculture since the very domestication of cereals like wheat and barley. They have been used in crop rotation since ancient times.

In this communication we present an account of the pulse crops in the food economy of ancient Kashmir based on our detailed archaeobotanical investigations at Burzahom and Semthan. These sites have been excavated by Archaeological Survey of India and the time bracket embraced by various cultural phases is given in the table with the pulses recovered from the sites.

Various cultural phases and the Pulses recorded:

A. Burzahom

<u>Phase</u>	<u>Time bracket</u>	<u>Pulses</u>	<u>Local names</u>
Neolithic I	2375-1700 B.C	<i>Lens culinaris</i>	Lentil (Masoor)
Neolithic II	1700-1000 B.C	<i>Lens culinaris</i>	-do-
Megalithic	1000-600 B.C	<i>Lens culinaris</i>	-do-
		<i>Pisum sativum</i>	Pea (Mattar)
Post Magalithic	600-200 B.C	<i>Lens culinaris</i>	Lentil (Massor)
		<i>Pisum sativum</i>	Pea (Mattar)
B. Semthan			
Pre N.B.P	1500-600 B.C	<i>Phaseolus aureus</i>	Green gram (Moong)
		<i>Lens culinaris</i>	Lentil (Masoor)

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N.B.P	600-200 B.C	<i>Phaseolus mungo</i>	Black gram (Mah)
		<i>Phaseolus aureus</i>	Green gram (Moong)
		<i>Phaseolus</i>	Moth bean
		<i>acontifolius</i>	(Wari mooth)
		<i>Lens culinaris</i>	Lentil (Masoor)
Indo Greek	200 BC - 1st AD	<i>Pisum sativum</i>	Pea (Mattar)
		<i>Phaseolus mungo</i>	Black gram (Mah)
		<i>Phaseolus aureus</i>	Green gram (Moong)
Kushan phase	1-500 A.D	-do-	
		<i>Phaseolus aureus</i>	Black gram (Mah)
		<i>Phaseolus mungo</i>	Moth bean
		<i>Phaseolus</i>	(War mooth)
		<i>acontifolius</i>	
Hindu rule	500-1000 A.D	<i>Pisumsativum</i>	Pea (Mattar)
		<i>Lens culinaris</i>	Lentil (Masoor)
		<i>Lens culinaris</i>	-do-
		<i>Pisum sativum</i>	Pea (Mattar)

Archaeological Evidence :

Lens culinaris :

The seeds referred to *Lens Culinaris* were recovered from all the four phases at Burzahom and the pre-N.B.P., Kushan and Hindu rule phases at Semthan. The seeds are flat and circular, 3-4 mm in diameter, 1.6-2 mm in thickness, and the seed surface is smooth. Hilum is lateral, oval, in line with the seed surface and about 1 mm in size.

Pisum Sativum :

Evidence of *Pisum sativum* cultivation has come from Neolithic, Megalithic and post Megalithic phases at Burzahom and from the N.B.P., Kushan and Hindu rule phases at Semthan. Seeds are large, round to ovoid, 4.5-8.5 mm in diameter. Seed surface is thin and smooth. Hilum lies in level with the seed surface and is oblong and 1.6-2.8 mm in size.

Phaseolus aureus:

Seeds identified as *Phaseolus aureus* were recovered from the pre-N.B.P., N.B.P., Indo-Greek and Kushan Phases at Semthan. Seeds are ovoid to oblong, covered with a smooth seed coat, 3.2-3.7 mm long, 2.5-2.6 mm broad. Hilum is lateral in position, oblong to oval in shape.

Phaseolus mungo :

This crop has been used by the inhabitants of N.B.P., Indo-Greek and Kushan phases at Semthan. Seeds are oblong, covered with a thin, smooth seed

coat, 4-4.8 mm long, 2.5-3 mm broad, with hilum lateral in position surrounded by a raised border which partially covers it.

Phaseolus aconitifolius :

Kushan phase at Semthan revealed some seeds of *phaseolus aconitifolius*. Seeds are very much compressed, oblong to oval, 3.3-5.1 mm long and 2.5-2.9 mm broad. Seed surface is smooth. Hilum is lateral in position.

Discussion :

Lentils were definitely associated with the start of agriculture in the Near East (Zohary 1972, 1973, 1976, Hopf 1986 Renfrew 1973), which confirms the belief that the centre of origin of lentil is in the Near East (Vavilov 1949-50). The earliest evidence of lentil cultivation dates back to around 7500 to 7000 B.C. at Alikosh and Jericho (Hopf 1969, Renfrew 1973).

In India lentils are recorded at Chirand 1800 B.C. (Vishnu Mittre 1972), Navdatoli-Maheshwar 2000 B.C. (Kajala 1974), Diamabad 2200-1000 B.C. (Kajala 1977) and Ter 150 B.C. - 100 A.D. (Vishnu Mittre et al 1971). The evidence from Kashmir in the light of global finds clearly indicate that lentil has been introduced from West Asia and has been cultivated from the very dawn of agriculture here. The evidence from Burzahom Neolithic I is perhaps the earliest record of its cultivation in the Indian Sub-continent.

Vavilov (1949-50) proposed Central Asia and Near East as the centre of origin of pea. The earliest archaeological finds dating back to around 7000-6000 B.C. are from early farming villages of the fertile crescent in the Near East (Renfrew 1973, Lone et al 1993). In India *Pisum arevense* has been reported from Harappa 2250 B.C. (Vats 1941), Chirand 1800 B.C. (Vishnu Mittre 1972) Navdatoli-Maheshwar 1550-1400 B.C. (Vishnu Mittre 1962) and Diamabad 2200-1000 B.C. (Kajala 1977). In Kashmir Valley *Pisum arevense* is reported from Gofkral c. 2100 B.C. (Sharma 1982). From the present evidence it appears that the crop was introduced in the valley from West Asia along with lentils somewhere in the third millennium B.C.

From the domestication point of view the evidence of various species of *phaseolus* is very significant as they tend to confirm the belief of their centre of origin being the Indian region. *Phaseolus aureus* is of ancient cultivation in India but is not found in wild state. It is probably derived from *Phaseolus radiatus* which occurs wild in India and Burma (Purseglove 1977). Vavilov (1949-50) has proposed India and Central Asia as centre of origin for the crop. Archaeological records in India are from Navdatoli-Maheshwar 1550-1440 B.C. (Vishnu Mittre 1962), Diamabad (Kajala 1977). Apegaon (Kajala, 1979).

Phaseolus mungo is having Indian origin but does not occur in wild state

in India. Probably it has evolved from *Phaseolus sublobatus* which occur wild in India (Vavilow 1949-50 Purseglove 1977). Archaeological records are from Banawali c 2300 B.C. (Lone et al 1987), Navdotoli-Maheshwar (Vishnu Mittre 1962), Diamabad (Kajala 1977), Atrenji-Khera (Chowdhury, et al 1977). *Phaseolus aconitifolius* is a native of India, Pakistan and Burma where it grows wild (Purseglove 1977). However there is no archaeological record of its use in ancient times.

The lentils and peas originated in the Near East the credit for domestication of green gram (*Phaseolus aureus*) urad (*Phaseolus mungo*) and moth bean (*Phaseolus aconitifolius*) goes to the Indian sub-continent. At various stages of cultural development these pulse crops have been introduced in the Valley probably through the cultural contacts of ancient inhabitants across the plains.

Our studies have also revealed the occurrence of other members of Fabaceae namely *Medicago*, *Astragalus*, *Vicia*, *Lathyrus*, *Melilotus* etc. which evidently were used as fodder and forage as is being done today.

Present chronological evidence suggests that initially lentils and peas were cultivated during the neolithic phase around 1500-1000 B.C. Cultivation of green gram (*Phaseolus mungo*) started around 600 B.C. and these crops continued to be used without any new addition till as late as the start of the Christian era when the moth bean (*P. aconitifolius*) was introduced. Presently all these species are grown in Kashmir except lentils whose cultivation is very limited.

Comparison of plant remains among the occupational floors indicate that similarities exist in the inventory of plant resources but the relative importance of certain resources changes particularly between the upper two levels (Kushan and Hindu) in Semthan.

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LADAKH CORRIDOR TO CENTRAL ASIA :

An investigative report of prehistoric cultures. ¹

* R.S.Fonia

Ladakh the largest region of the Jammu and Kashmir state covers an area of about 1000,00 sq. km. The fiscal sub-division of the region is called trans-Tibet and trans-Himalayan range and comprises Nubra, Changthung, Zaskar and Baltistan. These valleys are the main lines of drainage and form the connecting link between Ladakh and Central Asia via Karakoram mountain range on one hand and Ladakh and Western Tibet, neighbouring region such as Lahul-Spiti, Zaskar, Suru, Sod, Baltistan, Kishtwar and Kashmir on other hand. These have been trade routes from the earliest times and in this way nomads from Central Asia and other mountain region have poured into lower Indus valleys in search of pasture and settlement. This fact is further substantiated with the findings of pre-historic and neolithic sites, rock engravings and temporary hearths which dot the entire region all along these routes.

The present study is based on the intensive exploration conducted in the remote valleys with the view to establish a relation between the lower Indus valleys with Central Asia and China via ancient trade routes of Ladakh Himalaya. Many earliest sites have been found in lower Indus valley and the plains of Sind in Pakistan such as Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro and early neolithic sites from Mehargarh to Burzahom. On the basis of archaeological findings from Burzahom and other sites possible link of Kashmir with Central Asia through easily negotiable routes with Ladakh has not been ruled out.²

The rock engraving of ibex Chhodten and Swastik & hunting scene found on these trade routes further symbolises the inter-relation between the nomads and Buddhist monks during the 3rd Century B.C. and the 2nd Century A.D. who followed each other into Central Asia through Ladakh and played significant role in the cultural and economic history of the region. From the 8th Century A.D. when the impact of Buddhism in Kashmir lessened it started receiving direct patronage from western Himalayan Kingdoms. Therefore, from the archaeological point of view this entire region has formed most important part of the mountain zone.

The valley drained by the river Nubra and Sheyok, the internal drainage basin with a salt encrusted lake on Indus belt, the alluvial-cones, terraces, moronic and lacustrine deposits which form the Quaternary deposits has

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proved quite significant to understand the evidence of paleolithic and neolithic culture in the region. The alluvial cones in the form of fan shaped deposits are noticed at the places where the stream emerges from mountain into the valleys. Moraine deposits are found at many places in Ladakh as a proof of ancient glaciers and at some places looks like a small hillock. Lake sediments known as lacustrine deposits are also found at places in the valley.

The geological studies on the ice age and associated human culture conducted by early scholars like de Terra, Paterson, Blanford, Trinkler provide us some clue about the existence of early man in the area of our study. Francke also reported some stone tools from upper Indus, but no sincere effort in this direction was later on made. Late Prof. H.D. Sankalia however discovered some flake handaxe tools from the Lidder valley in Kashmir, but remained debatable without making sincere investigation. The archaeological findings extracted by Mr. T.N. Khazanchi (1959-70) from Burzahom excavation and exploration has left valuable clue for the young archaeologists to work further in Ladakh and whether, it can be culturally linked with Central Asia as no reference could be made for comparison with any other contemporary civilization outside the valley in this sub-continent. In the year 1980 explorers of Wadia Institute of the Himalayan Geology, Dehradun and Birla Institute of Palaeobotany Lucknow, reported the evidence of hearth culture near village Gaik about 100 Km east of Leh and the radio carbon dated it of its charcoal date about 6710 ± 130 years B.P. Under the administrative supervision of the author a team from Prehistory Branch of Archaeology also conducted exploration at Gaik and surrounding area and expressed apprehension on the accuracy of the dating. How old is Gaik, the authenticity has yet to be established.

A first hand idea of the existence of the early man in this region has been drawn from the findings of the stone tools by a group of Geologist, from Geological Survey of India in 1985 while working on the problem of Neogene/Quaternary succession of the upper Indus Ladakh. They reported stone artifacts in a stratified context which are found in association with Indus terraces located near Nurla, Khalsi and Pashkyam and around Kargil (personal contacts with G.S.I. Ladakh Project). Incidentally, during the course of field survey along the left bank near Alchi in July 1986-87 some stone tools and a rock boulder engraved with hunting scene and ibex was also discovered. The tools comprise of unifacial chopper, some bifacial handaxes and on the basis of technology can be assigned to lower Paleolithic culture but unfortunately the stratigraphical association of these artifacts is not known. In the year 1987 the author also located a permanent neolithic settlement at Matho village which is situated on the neck of the Zaskar mountain range. The valley must have come into existence as a result of huge torrent of which traces are seen on the slope of pebbly stream bed. The antiquarian remains in the form of handmade pottery representing globular vase, long necked pots and deep bowl with incurved rims

and ashy patches over the red ware with light brownish pottery from the cultivated field confirm the existence of ancient neolithic settlement. In the year 1987-88 systematic exploration was conducted in Zaskar valley. During the course of our exploration in the region an attempt has been made to identify the primitive rock carvings which remained so far un-noticed and un-utilized as compared to the rock carving identified by Prof. A.H. Dani in Chilas region in Karakoram range. The primitive rock engraving are widely distributed in the region all along the ancient routes connecting the region with Baltistan in Suru valley in the west and Changthang in east. These primitive rock engraving depict a common theme of hunting scene and the animals there in are ibex and markhor. The ibex is a species of wild goat and is recognizable by its double carved horns. It has become popular in local tradition as in the higher regions of Zaskar and Central Asia it is believed to have been representation of primitive God and respected as a token as seen from its various representation on the boulders. Its horns were kept on the graves as a symbol of protection until recent times by the Dards³. It was also considered as symbol of fertility God before Buddhism spread in the region. Apart from these animals we also found sheep, dog, fox, camel in the carvings. The only weapon represented in the carvings is bow. A large number of boulders with primitive rock carvings depicting hunting scene, ibex etc. have been found at Byama Kharbu in Suru valley near Sanku, Panikhar, Phey, Tonde, Zangle on Padam-Zangla-Leh tract and Sanid-Zonkhual on Padam Kishtwar tract. The later association of religious figures of Sun, Chhodten and Swastik symbolises the spread of Buddhist religion in the region. These carvings testified the ancient occupation of the remote valleys of Ladakh proving that since the very early times the highest regions of the Himalayas were inhabited. The most important factor to be ascertained and identified is the origin, chronology of these rock carvings and their comparative analysis with the rock carvings noticed by prof. Dani in Chilas⁴. This is further substantiated by the discovery of stone tools in Kargil area and in Nubra valley. The present discovery of pre-historic sites and primitive rock carvings provide an important clue for the further studies to trace back the human existence in the region before the onset of permanent settlement in lower Indus and Kashmir valley and its links with Central Asia.

Keeping in view all the evidence, a systematic archaeological exploration was conducted in Nubra and Changthang valley in the month of June-July and September, 1992 to investigate the pre-historic sites and their links with Central Asia and China. The Nubra valley is drained by the Nubra and Sheyok rivers on Karakoram mountain range and is extended upto Skardu in Baltistan. The prevailing rock in the valley is lime stone however the mass of the mountain is composed of granite which form the highest peak and crest of ridges. The region also have hot springs and lakes. During the archaeological studies in the remote areas of the Nubra valley, our team discovered Paleolithic artifacts from the terraces of Tirsia lake (Pl.I) and rock shelter at Hundar Dok (Pl.II). The sites can

give us some valuable information about the earliest cultural evolution only after a small scale excavation is done. However the findings of these artifacts at rock shelter at Hundar Dok Nala which connects Leh with Nubra through Phyang and Tirsalake near Panamic hot spring and further leads to Central Asia is quite significant. Besides, large number of pre-historic rock engravings have been discovered on ancient route connecting Leh with Central Asia via Phyang Dok, Khardungla mountain range and Changthang via Sakti at Hundar Dok, Hundar Nala, Diskit, Tirath, Sunmur Yensa and Sakti and Drangtu.

The stone tools comprises choppers (both unifacial and bifacial) scrapers, handaxes and flakes (Fig.1&2). These are fabricated on chert, quartzite, granite and diorite. These tools have been found from the site in the vicinity of rock shelter. Before it, most of the findings were picked from the surface collection. It may be mentioned here that the Paleolithic tools have been reported from Jammu and Kashmir and some tools have also been reported from Tajikistan⁵ etc. They are of pebble tool culture, therefore, the present discovery of Paleolithic sites at Hundar Dok and Tirsalake in Nubra valley provide a proof of the cultural contact between lower Indus valley and Kashmir with Central Asia.

Immediately after this discovery in September, 1992 investigation was carried out along Indus river from Upsi to Nyoma and Changthang region, and also around Sakti village monastery. Number of rock engravings have been found depicting camel, sheep, goat, horse, ibex, hunting scene etc. alongwith hearth cave dwelling near Gaik. These engravings are older in comparison to engravings found in Zaskar region as these are deeper, primitive and most of these are blackened and even patinated due to climatic actions. These engravings are found at Kiari, Upsi, Nurmis, Changthang and Neoma alongwith cave dwellings near salt lake in the region. Some samples from the hearth, faunal remains, few pot sheds, burnt clay, ball stone objects found from the site of Kiari by the pre-history branch of ASI, are dated by radio carbon to 900 B.C (pers. comm. from the pre-history branch) whereas the charcoal samples collected by the Wadia Institute if believed to be accurately radio carbon dated to about 6710 + 130 years B.P. proves that the cultural phase of Gaik and Kiari are between 3500 B.C. to 900 B.C. and there by the neolithic cultural phase spread for a quite long time.

From the detailed analysis of above remains and rock engravings found on halting places alongwith cave dwellings it is clear that their economy was primarily based on pastoralism and partly hunting and gathering. Their nomadic nature is evident from the temporary settlement in the region. From the location of temporary hearth and cave dwellings near salt lake and borax plant at Pugga in Nyoma area it can be said that these settlement were the seasonal camping grounds probably occupied during summer season when

high altitude areas became suitable for human movement. Traditional wool marts in the region also witnessed the existence of primitive barter system of goods among the nomads of Central Asia, Nubra, Zaskar, Baltistan, Lahul Spiti, Tibet and Kashmir. The main items of barter were salt, borax, wool from Changthang and food grains from Lahul Spiti, Baltistan and Kashmir, other rare items from Tibet and Central Asia. The hot springs at Pugga in Chumathang in Changthang area and Panamic in Nubra valley also received religious cum medical significance from the earliest times. The orthopedic patient from these valleys used to visit these places for the speedy recovery from their illness under the religious cum natural treatment of local Amchi (a local doctor).

Thus as a result of present discovery, in the light of recent reporting of Paleolithic tool from potwar region in Pakistan, Tajikistan in Central Asia, Kashmir and Nubra valley establish cultural link between Ladakh and Central Asia, since pre-historic period and opens a new prospect to conduct multi disciplinary studies in the evolution of stone age culture in this part of hidden kingdom. We hope that our further continuing investigation in the area will provide us valuable archaeological information and allow us to trace back the independent origin of the pre-historic culture in Ladakh and Central Asia.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author wishes to express his great sense of gratitude to all Himalayan explorers, travellers and scholars who have written on the Himalayan areas. The author is extremely thankful to his team members Sh. L.P. Thapliyal, Shri Puran Singh, Shri Balbir Singh, Shri Tsering Wangchuk and Shri Tanak Bahadur for their hard work and cooperation during exploration.

Notes and References

1. Ladakh comprising the districts of Leh and Kargil in the extreme west of Himalayan range is a very interesting area for the archaeological research. After the establishment of Tibetan Buddhism in the area i.e. 8th Century A.D. onwards, Cave shrines, Gonpas, Castles and Forts are well known and lot of published materials are available on them, but least is known about the archaeology of this area. It is only after 1980 that some works have been done in the region which provides evidence for Paleolithic and Neolithic culture as well as for large number of primitive rock engravings and shelters. However, Archaeological investigation conducted by the author from 1986-92 in the remote areas of the Zaskar, Batalic, Chanthang and Nubra valley, have provided new material throwing light on the pre-historic culture of the region and its link with Central Asia, Tibet and China.
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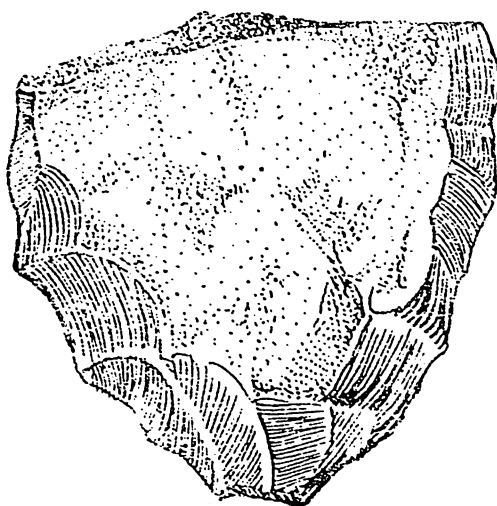


Fig. 1. Palaeolithic Tool-Trisa Lake, Nubra.

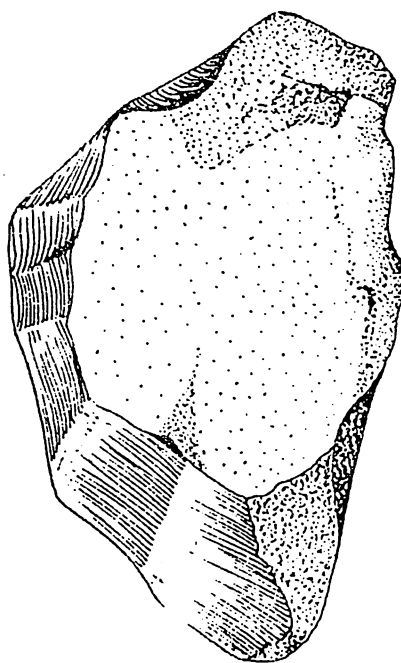
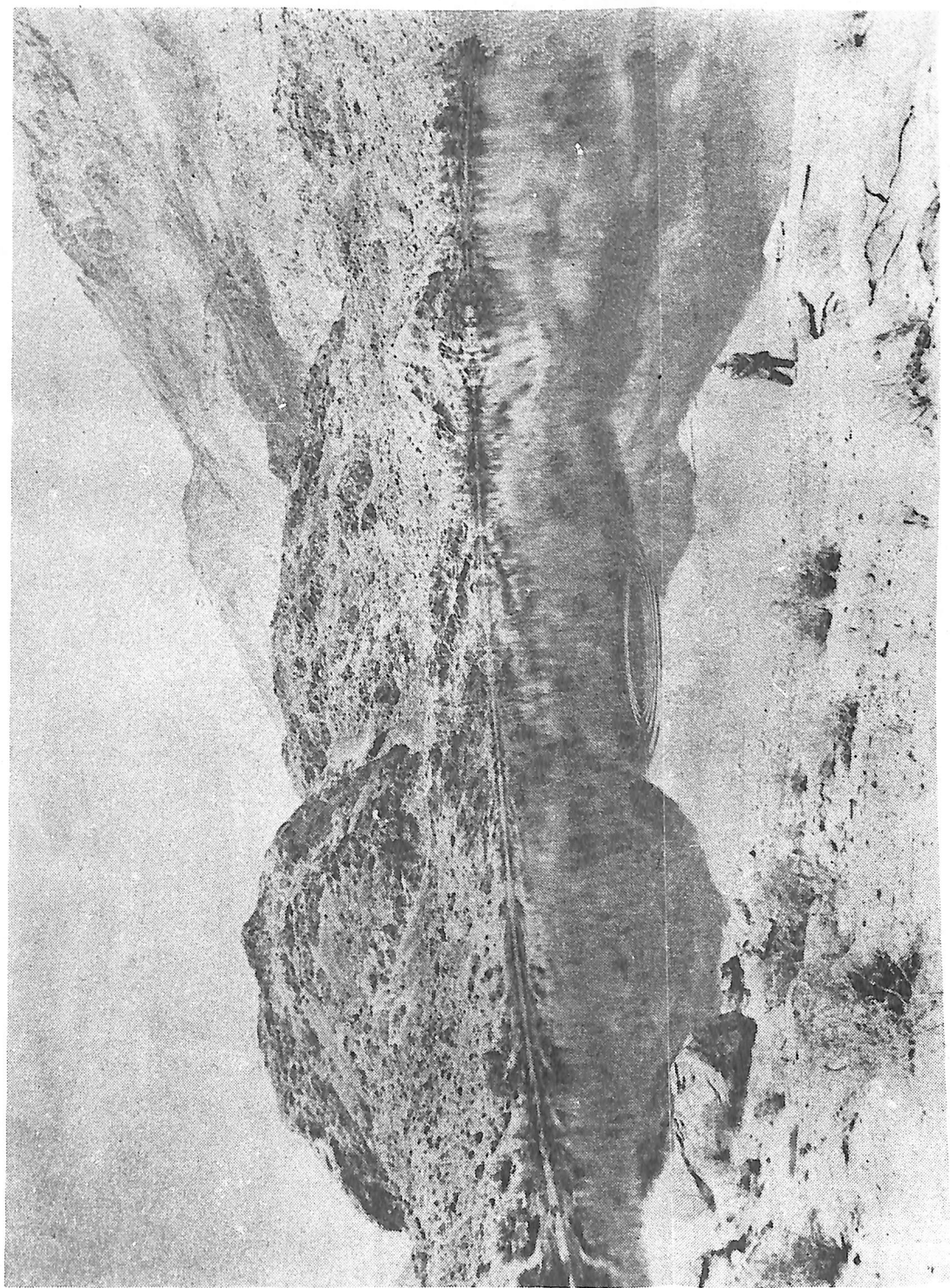
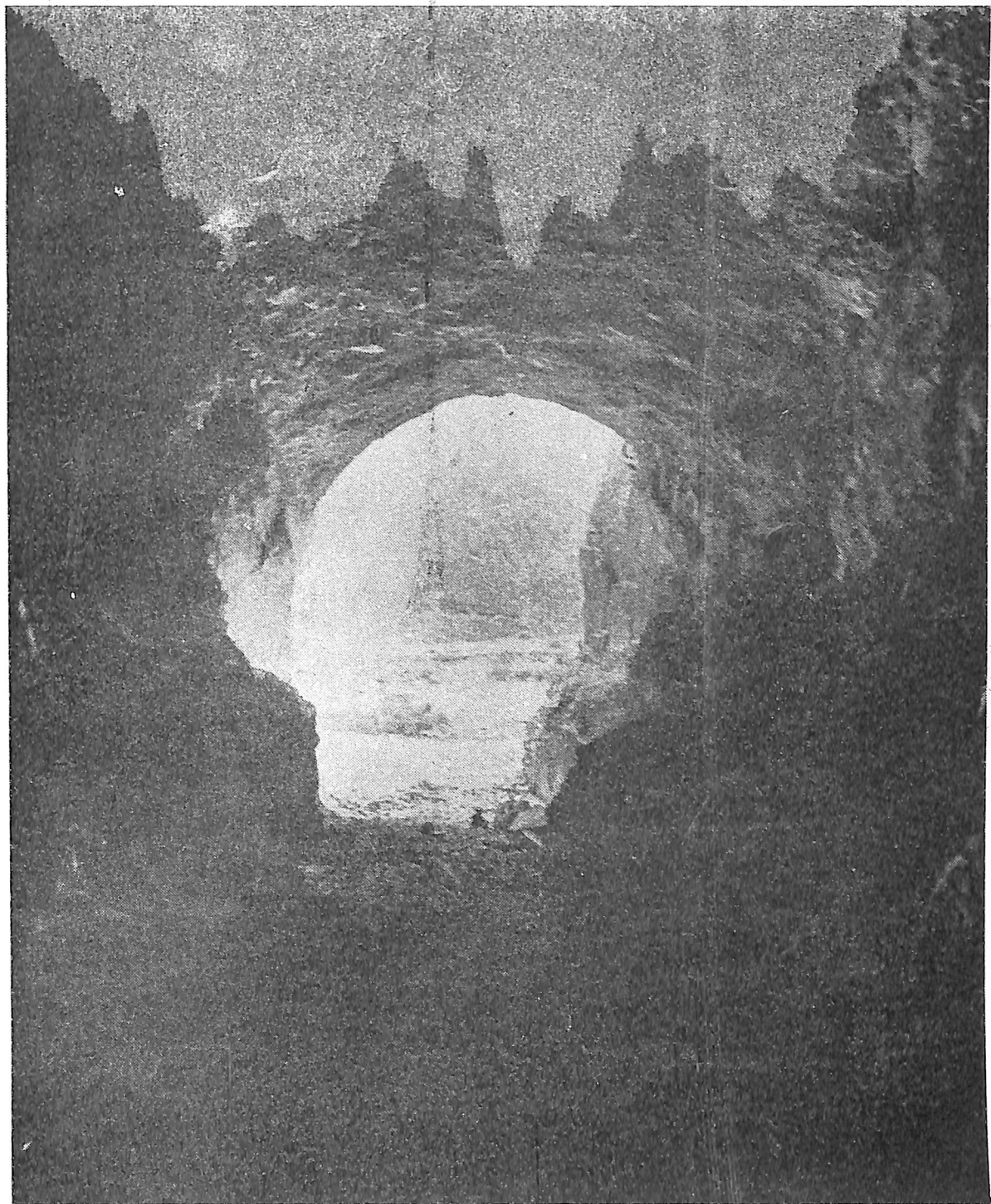


Fig. 2. Palaeolithic Tool-Hunder Cave, Nubra.



Pl. I. Prehistoric Terraces at Tirsu Lake, Nubra Valley, Ladakh.



Pl.II. Prehistoric Rock Shelter, Hundar Dok, Nubra.



CONQUEST AND ISLAMISATION OF BUKHARA

* Naseem Ahmed.

Bukhara, following its conquest by Muslims, for nearly six hundred years, remained the fountainhead of Islamic culture and civilization next only to Baghdad¹. The great scholars of Islam like Imam Abu Hafs-al-Kabir, Muqatil bin Sulaiman al-Qurayshi and Imam Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Ismail al-Bukhari have lived here and produced galaxies of scholars of Islamic learning². Apart from this Bukhara has been one of the greatest trade centres of medieval muslim world.³

In this paper an attempt has been made to highlight some crucial problems faced by the Muslims during the course of the conquest and the subsequent Islamisation of this strategically and commercially important province of Central Asia.

Conquest of Bukhara

The process of conquest of Bukhara, having started in 53/672 lasted till 90/709, the year Qutaiba bin Muslim al-Bahili, one of the ablest military generals the world of Islam has ever produced, conquered it permanently⁴. During the intervening period the lasting Arab rule could not be established partly because of the violent opposition offered by the Bukharites⁵, the frequent transfers of Muslim governors posted at Khurasan⁶ and partly due to the internal dissensions obtaining within the ranks of Arab Muslims in Khurasan⁷.

It was only with the appointment of Qutaiba bin Muslim (85-95/704/15) as Governor of Khurasan that a new chapter ensued in the history of expansion and consolidation of Muslim power in Central Asia. The meticulous leadership of the Caliph, the support of the great administrator and stern disciplinarian like Hajjaj and the military ability of Qutaiba were factors underlying the success of Umayyads in Central Asia.⁸

Though Qutaiba conquered the neighbouring principalities of Paykand, Talaqan, Saghaniyan, Akharun, Shuman, Kifyan, Gislistan and Balkh, with greater ease yet his campaign against Bukhara was initially thwarted by the stubborn resistance offered by the natives. On one occasion, the helpless Arab forces were trapped by the comparatively large number of native forces in the neighbouring areas of Tarab, Khanbun and Ramitin. The plight of Qutaiba and his men is better preserved by Narsheki¹⁰.

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و اندر میان روستاهائی بخارا میان تاراب و جنبون و رامتن لشکر دعا گرد آمدند
 بسیار و قتیبه را در میان گرفتند
 و کار بر قتیبه سخت شد.

For four months Hajjaj had no news about Qutaiba and his men and the former was so much worried that he proclaimed for mass prayers in the mosques of Kufa and Basra for the safety of Qutaiba and his men¹¹.

”و چهار ماه بود که قتیبه اندر مانده بود، و در این مدت خبر قتیبه و یاران او به حجاج نرسیده بود و حجاج را دل بدین جانب مشغول می بود و در مسجد مصطفی قرآن می خواند، و ختمهای می کردند، و دعاهای گفتند.“

Hajjaj took a strong note of the continuous ineffectiveness of Qutaiba regarding the permanent conquest and consolidation of Arab rule in Bukhara¹². He reprimanded Qutaiba and emphatically commanded him to renew the attempt and submit a detailed plan of the topography of the area and to follow the action plan duly sent by Hajjaj¹³. And now for the fourth time Qutaiba advanced against Bukhara with full might¹⁴:

”و این چهارم بار بود که به بخارا آمده بود و حرب کرده.“

Consequently he succeeded in laying siege to the city and inflicted a crushing defeat on Bukharites.¹⁵

”این بار چهارم قتیبه حرب کرده شهر بگرفت.“

He imposed a tribute of 20,000 dirhams on the inhabitants and installed an Arab garrison in the city¹⁶. Qutaiba himself returned to Merv with the hope that the city was subdued on a permanent basis.

But in the light of the details provided in Narshakhis's Tarikh-i-Bukhara and other contemporary sources, about the post-conquest scenario, one is genuinely convinced that there was still a continual friction between the Arab garrison and population of Bukhara. The city could not be pacified even after the installation of a permanent garrison in the citadel¹⁷. Consequent upon this, Qutaiba once again marched into Bukhara through the districts of Kish and Nasf¹⁸.

On this occasion, however, in order to win over the Bukharites permanently, Qutaiba realised the necessity of reorganising the Arab policy on more radical basis. In the first instance, therefore, a contemplative political move was initiated whereupon Tughshada, the local chief was installed on the throne of Bukhara after he accepted Islam at the hands of Qutaiba and other

aspirants to the throne were put to death¹⁹.

”طغشاده به دست قتیبه ایمان آورده بود و ملک بخارا فی داشت،
قتیبه بخارا را باز به طغشاده داد و او را به ملک بنشاند، و ملک بروی صافی کرد و همه
دشمنان او را دست کوتاه کرد.“

By doing so Qutaiba was able to secure compliance and docility in the native administration²⁰. A more solid guarantee, for the permanence of the Arab rule, however, was conditioned by the establishment of a military colony in Bukhara²¹. The acceptance of Islam by Tughshda paved way for the new faith to become the religion of governing class and it appears that after Tughshada's conversion to Islam, the Bukharites accepted Islam in large numbers²².

In fulfillment of the principle that political conquest is incomplete without the cultural conquest, Qutaiba sought to popularise the new religion as well as the new culture²³. For this purpose, therefore, he got built a number of mosques inside the citadel²⁴.

”و بعد از رنج بسیار اسلام آشکارا کرد. و آثار کفر و رسم گبری
برداشت، و جده عظیم فی کرد. و مسجدها بنا کرد.“

He also persuaded the people to attend Friday prayers by offering them a gift of two dirhams each.²⁵

”چنانچه (قتیبه) مصر آدینه منادی فرمودی هر که به نماز آدینه حاضر شود، دو درم بدهم.“

He punished those who violated the teaching of Islam²⁶

”و هر که در احکام شریعت تقصیری کردی، عقیقت می کرد.“

With a view to facilitate the conversions, he allowed the people to recite the persian translation of Holy Quran (in prayers) as they were not conversant with Arabic²⁷

”و مردمان بخارا به اول اسلام در نماز قرآن به پارسی خواندندی و عربی نتوانستندی آموختن.“

Apart from small mosques, a Jamia Masjid (Grand Mosque) was also built in 94 A.H. within the citadel, replacing a But Khana (Idol House)²⁸. Narshakhi, while appreciating Qutaiba's efforts towards Islamisation of Bukhara, maintains that due to the rapid conversions of the people to Islam this mosque fell short to accommodate the increasing number of Muslims on Fridays, leading the ruler, thereby, to construct another Jamia Masjid in 154 A.H.²⁹

All these measures point to the concern that Qutaiba evinced in the Islamisation of Bukhara and it was, infact, the result of these measures that a new phase ushered in the history of the people of Central Asia in general and that of Bukhara in particular³⁰.

Notwithstanding all this it was observed that a substantial chunk of

Bukharan population was still antagonistic towards Muslims³¹ and on certain occasions even pelted stones on latter when requested to embrace Islam.³²

یک روز آدینه مسلمانان به درکوشکھا رفتند، و ایشان را به نماز آدینه خواندند. و الحاح کردند ایشان را، از بام کوشک سنگ می زدند.

Again being insincere towards the new faith they professed Islam outwardly and continued to worship idols in their private lives³³

ایشان اسلام پزیرفتند به ظاهر و به باطن بت پرستی می کردند.

Therefore to see that Bukharites adhere to basic precepts of Islam, Qutaiba manoeuvred relatively a more effective policy of Islamisation and acculturation by virtue of which every Bukharite was obliged to accommodate, at least, one Arab Muslim in his house³⁴. This was done with two fold purposes: first, that the accommodates teach the native house owners the basic tenets of Islam in their genuine form³⁵ and second, that the seditious activities of the natives, if ever developed, were fervently and strictly watched over³⁶.

قینیه چنان صواب دید که اهل بخارا را فرمود یک نیمه از حرفه های خویش به عرب دادند، تا عرب

با ایشان باشند، و از اموال ایشان با خبر باشند، تا به ضرورت مسلمان باشند.

The above measures were re-inforced by yet another order whereunder the construction of a network of mosques in the nook and corner of Bukhara was immediately undertaken,³⁷ for mosque was then the main organised religious institution instrumental in the propagation and dissemination of Islamic faith. Besides a vast piece of land in the outskirts of the city was earmarked for Eid Gah (place of offering Eid prayers)³⁸. However, Muslims, offered prayers in it along with their arms for, they still felt themselves insecure at the hands of non-Muslim Bukharites who were still too bellicose and recalcitrant to accept Islam³⁹.

One of the most remarkable features of Qutaiba's scheme was reflected in a glaring effort whereupon he settled various Arab groups in different pockets of Bukhara⁴⁰. By this arrangement he hoped to see that Arab-Islamic culture bears considerable impact not only on the thought and faith but on the whole life style of the new converts. One reminds that all these Arab groups owed their origin to different Arab tribes. Among these Banu Asad and Banu Tamim, who fundamentally deserve the credit of the conquest of Bukhara, comprised of not less than 20,000 soldiers⁴¹. Though we fail to have the exact classwise statistical date of the Arab civilians, yet Narshakhi has furnished us a brief account of the settlement pattern that suited to Qutaiba in the division of Bukhara among Arabs and local population⁴². According to him the Shahrستان (City of Bukhara) had eight Abwab (Sectors/streets). Each street/sector was

allocated to Arabs Muslims on the following lines:

S.No	Name of the street/sector	Name of the Arab tribe
1.	Dare-Bazar or Dare-Attaran (Market street or perfume seller's street)	Rabia and Mudar
2.	Koue-Rindan (street of seers)	Banu Hanzala
3.	Koue-Kakh (street of Castle)	Yemenite Tribes
4.	Dare-Banu Sa'd (street of Banu Sad)	Banu Sa'd
5.	Dare-Banu Asad (street of Banu Asad)	Banu Asad
6.	Dare-Mahrah (street of Pearls)	Banu Azd (Majority of Arab Settlers)
7.	Dare-Hifrah (street of Ditch)	Tribe of Imam Abu Hafs.
8.	Dare-Nau (New Street)	Qurayshites

The above hurried survey which is of course incomplete, brings out some tentative conclusions about the conquest and Islamisation of Bukhara. First, until 750 A.D, the Muslims were simply satisfied with annual tribute demanded very often from the rulers of Bukhara. No sooner did they delay or deny the payment of stipulated annual amount, than the Arabs launched wars against them. Neither any concerted effort was made upto this period to incorporate Bukhara within the Muslim Empire nor any serious interest was shown to introduce Islam among the people of Bukhara. It was under the spirited and talented leadership of Qutaiba that Bukhara finally became a part of Muslim empire. Henceforth Qutaiba realised that the political conquest would be incomplete without cultural conquest and the subsequent accommodation of the local grandees in the existing administrative set up. He made a remarkable shift from the previous segregation policy of his predecessors⁴³ to that of assimilation by encouraging interaction between the Arab Muslims and the local populace. Alongside making arrangements for preaching Islamic doctrines through dedicated missionaries, he did not ignore the economic factor and the use of political authority with three clear objectives in view (i) to create a reference group by effecting mass migration of Muslim governing class from Arabia, (ii) to give first preference to the conversion of ruling elite (iii) and to establish the imposing Islamic institutions.

Notes and References

1. G.Le. Strange, "Lands of the Eastern Caliphate", Cambridge, 1966, pp. 460, 63; Cambridge 'History of Iran, vol. 4, Ed. R.N. Frye, Cambridge, 1975, pp. 142, 153; S.Lane-Poole, "The Muhammadan Dynasties", New Delhi, 1986, P. 131; R.N. Frye, "Bukhara the Medieval Achievement", Norman, Okla, 1965, p. 16; J. Wellhausen, "Arab Kingdom And its Fall", London, 1973, p. 438; T.W. Arnold, "The Preaching of Islam", New Delhi, 1984, P. 218.

2. Ibid.

3. "هذه من أعظم مدن ماوراء النهر... ولا شك أن هذه مدينة كثيرة البساتين واسعة الفواكهة تحمل نواكصها إلى مرو وخوار زم وسمرقند... قال صاحب كتاب الصور: فإني لم أروا بلقي في الإسلام بلدًا أحسن خارجًا من بخاري وليس بخراسان وماوراء النهر مدينة اشتباهاً من بخاري ولا أكثر قدراً من أصلها" يا قوت حموي، معجم البلدان، بيروت، 1955

"this is the greatest city in Transoxiana.. No doubt this metropolis has numerous gardens possessing great varieties of fruits. Its fruits are exported to Merv, Khawarizm and Samargand... The author of Kitab us-sowr says: I have never seen nor heard in the world of Islam about any city with a landscape like that of Bukhara. And there is no city either in Khurasan or in Transoxiana with such diversity of features as Bukhara and with such a respectable community as that of Bukhara"

As a commercial centre it has been invariably discussed by medieval geographers and historians who have given it various names after its many distinguished characteristics as a trade centre.

"Bukhara means the Assembly of knowledge in the language of Magians". See W. Barthold and R.N. Frye, "Encyclopaedia of Islam". Art, Bukhara, vol.I, pp. 1293-6; Bukhara was also known as "Medinah al-sufriyyah" (city of copper) and Madinah al-Tujjar, (city of Merchants) see Narshakhi Abu Bakr Muhammad bin Jaffar, "Tarikh-e-Bukhara," tr. Tehran, 1363/1943, p.30; Narshakhi has devoted one full chapter "Dhikr-e-Assame-Bukhara" highlighting the diversified activities of Bukhara as a leading commercial centre of the medieval Islamic world. (Op.cit, p.30)

4. Yaqut Hamavi has mentioned a prophecy of the Prophet regarding the conquest and subsequent emergence of Bukhara as a great Islamic metropolis. It is not, therefore, impossible that this prophecy must have worked as an incentive to the muslims for the conquest of Bukhara:

قال حذيفة بن يمان: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم "ستفتح مدينة بخراسان خلف نمرق قال له جميعون، تستي بخاري، محفوفة بالرحمة ملفوفة بالملك، منصور أهلها النائم فيهما على الفراش كالشاهر سيفه في سبيل الله". معجم البلدان، بيروت، 1955

5. (Narshakhi, p.52.) Ubaidullah was the first Muslim who went across the mountains of Bukhara on camels along with 24,000 men. (Baladhuri, "Futuh al-Buldan", Leiden, 1866, p. 410; Tabari, "Tarikh" Tr. vol.II, I, Hyderabad, 1928, p. 169; Ibn al-Athir, "Al-Kamil" tr. vol. III, 1922, pp.414.15). The Queen, Qabaj Khatun, who was ruling on behalf of her minor son Tugh Shada, (Tabari, Opt.cit, pp. 169-70; Narshakhi, p.52) asked secretly, help from

Turkish princes of Transoxiana and made an appeal to Ubaidullah bin Ziyad for a stay of seven days. (Tabari. Op.cit, pp)69 - 70; Narshakhi, Op.cit, P52). Turks were too slow to arrive and hence she again requested for the extension in the stay of Arabs. (Baladhuri, pp. 410-11; Narshakhi, op.cit, p.52). For all these days she wooed and lulled the Arab commander by sending him valuable gifts. (Ibid, p. 53) Once the Turkish forces arrived, Khatun overnight changed her designs towards the Arabs. The combined forces of Turks and Khatun met the Arab armies and in the ensuing battle the Turks were defeated. (Ibid) Khatun sought protection from the Arabs and sued for peace by paying one million dirhams as indemnity. Arabs obtained a fairly large booty which included one stocking and single shoe of Khatun bedecked with gold, silver and jewellery valued at two hundred thousand dirhams. (Ibid; Baladhuri, p.411; Narshakhi, p. 53). Khatun negotiated peace on the terms and conditions fixed with Ubaidullah earlier. (Ibid) But when she learnt that a mighty army from Soghd, Kish and Nakhshab numbering 1,20,000 men, has arrived for her help, she regretted having paid the tribute and broke the pledge given to Muslims. (Ibid). To the good luck of Muslims the helping forces of Khatun got frightened when they heard about the glory, adventure and military achievements of Muslims and left the field without any fight, leaving Khatun alone to face the Arabs. Khatun sued for peace on an increased amount of indemnity and tribute. (Narshakhi, p. 55). Frye in his "History of Bukhara" which is a translation of Narshakhi, mentions that the two armies met and fought a battle resulting in the defeat of Turks. (Camb, Mass, pp. 38-9) But it seems that Frye has either misquoted or mistranslated Narshakhi for, the original writer clearly says that the Turks got frightened and fled without any fight;

”خداى تعالىٰ سبھم در دل كافراں انداخت : تا آں ہمہ لشکر صائے كافراں باز گشتندى حرب ،
خاتون تنہا ماند“ نرشنی ص ۵۳-۵۴.

(Baladhuri, p. 413; Tabari, op. cit. pp. 362-5; Ibn al-Athir, vol. IV, p. 83; Narshakhi, p. 57.) According to Yaqubi and Narshakhi the Queen sought help from Tarkhun, the king of Soghd, whom she promised to marry. (Yaqubi, Tarikh, Vol.II, Beirut, 1960, p. 252; Narshakhi, pp. 57-58) Tarkhun came with an army of 1,20,000 men and a large army from Turkistan under Bidun also arrived to join the Queen's side. Arabs defeated the combined forces of Khatun after fighting a pitched battle. In this adventure Arabs got a large booty; each horseman receiving 2,400 dirhams as his share. (Narshakhi, p. 60) This time again Khatun sought for peace in lieu of a big tribute. (Ibid).

6. Arab Kingdom and its fall, pp. 411-13; Barthold, "Turkistan Down to the Mongol Invasion" Leiden, 1958, p. 183.
7. Ibid.
8. H.A.R. Gibb "The Arab conquests in Central Asia," London, 1923, P.23.
9. Narshakhi, op. cit. pp. 41-45.
10. Ibid, p. 43.
11. Ibid, p. 65. It is quite relevant to keep in mind that since 87/706 to 90/709 Qutaiba invaded Bukhara thrice. On the occasion of each invasion the people of Bukhara accepted Islam. But as soon as the Muslim armies left the city, Bukharites apostatized and threw off the yoke. Qutaiba converted them thrice but each time they renounced Islam immediately after Qutaiba's departure. (Narshakhi, p.66)

”ہر بارى اہل بخارا مسلمان شہ زندى، و بار چوں عرب باز گشتندى ردت آوردندى، و قتيبہ بن مسلم سہ بار
ایشان را مسلمان کردہ بود و باز ردت آوردہ کافر شدہ بودند“

All the Transoxanian provinces with their rallying point at Bukhara were completely hostile to Arab advances. Their antagonistic attitude, in fact, seems to have kept the Muslims on pins throughout the period of thirty eight years preceeding their final subjugation. (For details see the author's article "Turkish Resistance Against Arab Advances In Central Asia" Bull of Islamic Studies, 1992, A.M.U. Aligarh) After each Muslim invasion the rulers of Central Asian principalities assembled at a particular place near Khawarizm and agreed to be friendly and united against the Arabs. (Tabari, II, i, p. 394) The Muslim armies had, at times, to ensure their safe passage through Transoxanian provinces by carrying with them the native citizens, from conquered populations, as hostages. (Narshakhi, p. 54; Gibb, op.cit, p. 30; Camb. Hist of Iran, op. cit, pp. 27-28) In both the important cities of Bukhara and Samarkand the opposition to new faith was so violent and obstinate that none but those who embraced Islam were allowed to carry arms, and for many years Muslims dared not appear without arms in the mosques and other public places. Besides, spies had to be set to keep a watch on the new converts. (Arnold, "Preaching of Islam", Lahore, 1896, p. 213). Every Arab soldier was ruthlessly killed at Paykand immediately after Qutaiba left the city in to the hands of a small garrison under Warqa bin Nasir al-Bahili. (Narshakhi, p.61)

12. Tabari, op. cit, p. 1198; Gibb, op. cit. pp. 34-35.
13. Ibid.
14. Narshakhi, p. 66
15. Ibid.
16. Gibb, op. cit, p. 36.
17. Ibid, p. 38.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid, p. 39; Narshakhi, p. 14. (For future Tughshada was a good friend of Qutaiba and as a token of his friendship towards the latter he named one of his sons as Qutaiba. Tughshada continued to rule Bukhara for a period of ten years after Qutaiba's death. Narshakhi, p.11; Arab Kingdom and it's Fall, p. 437.
20. Gibb, op. cit, p. 39.
21. Ibid.
22. Narshakhi, p. 68.
23. Ibid, p. 66
24. Ibid. p. 67.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid, p. 66
27. Ibid, p. 67. When Raku and Sajda in nimaaz were performed, a man other than Imam said in loud voice "بکینیا نکینت" and at the time of Sajda he said, "نکوبیا نکونی"
28. ibid, p. 68.

29. Ibid.
30. "Arab Kingdom and it's fall" p. 438.
31. Gibb, op. cit, p. 38.
32. Narshakhi, p. 68.
33. Ibid, p. 66
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid, P. 72.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid, p. 73
41. Tabari, III, 2, pp. 424-5; Ibnal-Athir, II, 4, p. 173; Gibb, op. cit, p. 40
42. Narshakhi, pp. 73-81.
43. For details see: E. Ashtor, "A social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages", London, 1976, p. 18; H.A.R. Gibb, op. cit, p. 17; M. A. Shaban, "Islamic History, A New Interpretation", Cambridge, 1971, P. 169; Jurji Zaydan, "History of Islamic civilization", New Delhi, 1981, pp. 31,32,42, 76-77. Earlier also in 671/51 during the governorship of Ziyad-bin-Abi-Sufyan, fifty thousand families from Basra and Kufa were sent to Khurasan and were settled in five garrison towns, away from the local populace. (Baladhuri, op. cit, p. 410; Tabari, op. cit, p. 63; Ibn al-Athir, op. cit, p. 89; Gibb, op. cit, p. 17; Sir William Muir, "The Caliphate", London, 1891, pp. 1,7; E. Ashtor, op. cit, pp. 18, 20-22; Joel Carmichal, "Shaping of the Arabs" London, 1967, pp. 112-13; Shaban, op. cit, pp. 112-23, 169-76.

Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi and his Central Asian Travels.

*G.R. Jan

Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi known to be one of the dynamic personalities ever produced by Kashmir was born in 928 A.H./1521 A.D. in a noble aristocratic family of Kashmir.

In the early years of his life Kashmir witnessed an era of political turmoil full of chaos and confusion. Sheikh Sarfi a born genius, committed to the memory the Holy Quran at the age of Seven, wrote commentaries on the Hadith and Quran and composed numerous *Diwans*²

Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi's extensive tours in the lands of Central Asia, Iran and India gave him a chance to confide in the leading luminaries of his age. After receiving his basic education from his father Sheikh Hassan Ganai, Sheikh Sarfi was given under the tutorage of Maulana Ani, (a native of Harve and a pupil of Maulana Abdul Rehamn³ Jami), a leading Alim of his age and a teacher in the reputed Madrassa of Sheikh Ismail Kubravy.⁴ Sarfi the Poetic name⁵ and Jami the second⁶ was given to Sheikh Sarfi by his mentor Maulana Ani⁷

Maulana Sarfi's other tutors were Mulla Hafiz Basir of Khand Bhawan⁸ (d. A.H 946/A.D 1539) and Mulla Mir Raziud-din⁹ (d. A.H 956/A.D 1549) both the natives of Kashmir. Under their supervision Sarfi perfected himself at the age of nineteen in the disciplines of Logic, medicine, astronomy, grammar mathematics and philosophy etc. etc.¹⁰ However his Quest for knowledge become more profound and he left for Khawarazam where he became the disciple of Sheikh Hussain Khawarazmi.¹¹

Despite the reluctance of Sheikh Sarfi's parents and a teacher,¹² to permit him to undertake such a journey at such a tender age, he left Kashmir and adopted the hazardous route of Pirpanchal, traveling through Kabul, Balkh, Badakashan and reached samarqand his cherished destination.¹³

Thus the Sheikh reached the fountain heads of the knowledge and learning and was initiated into a spiritual order which was destined to change the spiritual scenario of Kashmir.

Maulana Sarfi was received with warmth by the Sheikh Hussain in the

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Khanqah at Samarqand. Sheikh Hussain had seven reputed disciples in the Khanqah at that time. All of them were eager to guide the new enterant, but the Sheikh anticipating his future placed him under his direct tutorage.¹⁴ The ways of sufism are strange; its basic requirements are self purification complete devotion and unquestioning service thus the Sheikh asked the young entrant to collect timber and wood for the inmates of his Khanqah. Though Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi was by then a scholar of repute and belonged to an aristocratic family yet he obeyed his orders without any hesitation.

Sheikh Hussain was pleased with the absolute devotion and submission of the Sarfi and initiated him to his orders.¹⁵ In the course of time, he accomplished the stages of *Saluk* and the Sheikh Hussain bestowed upon him the *Khilafat* name and his *Khirqah*¹⁶ and allowed him to return to his native land Kashmir by his murshid. In Kashmir he stayed in the Khanqah of Drugjun¹⁷ where he also initiated disciples in the Kubraviya order.¹⁸

On his second trip to Samarqand, he decided to go by river route, but his Murshid again asked him to adopt a land route for the time to travel by sea was yet to come,¹⁹ so he took the Khurasan route.²⁰ This as a matter of fact was the main stage of his Central Asian and Iran tour.

Kabul²¹ was his first halting place. He immediately developed contacts with the men of literature, ulema, sufis and saints of Kabul. The prominent figures were Allamah Jallalud-Din Dawani,²² Mir Mohammad Majzoob, Sayyid Abdullah, Qazi Abdul Mali and Allaud-Din Lari.

He next visited Badakhshan²³ and Qunduz,²⁴ where he developed relations with Mohammad Ali and Mohammad Amin respectively. Sheikh Sarfi stayed in Ristaq for a brief spell in the Khanqah built by Sayyid Ali Hamadani and also visited the masoleum of Sayyid Noorud-Din Jaffer Badakhshi²⁵. Thereafter he visited Kulab,²⁶ where the famous saint and Alim Sayyid Ali Hamadani is buried.²⁷

In Balkh²⁸ Maulana Sarfi confided in the leading personalities like Mohammad Zahid Balki, Haji Dost Mohammad Khan, Khawaja Dard and Sheikh Abdul Khair.

In the course of his stay in Bokhara,²⁹ he also attended on Sheikh Jalal Wali, Sheikh Nasir, Sheikh Mohammad Kabuk, besides the reputed saint Sheikh Sultan Awbhi. He also visited the tomb of Khawaja Naqashband.³⁰

Sheikh Sarfi attended the sermons of Ahmad junaid and Sheikh Darvish, at Samarqand³¹ and was initiated there to the Naqashbandi order by Khawaja Mukangi, Haji Mohammad Panbadooz. Sarfi records.

بنور خدا جایی پینه دوز
کراو نیز بود از صف نقش بند

شده از نقش بندیه ام دل فروز
شده از خوابی نیم دلم بهره مند

While at Samarqand he attended the Khanqah of Sheikh Hussain Khawarazmi his spiritual guide.

From Samarqand, Sheikh sarfi went to Tashqand³³ where he had discussions with Sheikh Mohammad Hussain.

From Tashqand Maulana Sarfi went to Shahri-Sabz³⁴ undjan³⁵ yas, Kat³⁶ and Wazir³⁷, leaving Khiva³⁸ (خیوه) behind, he entered Kharwarazm³⁹, the birth place of his mentor, Sheikh Hussain Khawarazmi. During his stay in the city⁴⁰ he attended and participated in the congregations and sermons of the saints and spiritual leaders of his day. And is said to have benefited by such meetings. To satisfy his ever demanding desire for learning, guidance and spiritual perfection the Sarfi decided to undertake a journey to important centres of learning and knowledge and passed through unique types of mystic experiences. He began his tour with his attendance at the tomb of Hazrat Imam Reza (a.s).⁴¹ Sheikh Sarfi gives an interesting account of a blind woman⁴² who gained her eyesight at the tomb⁴³.

After the tour of Mashhad, Maulana Sarfi proceeded to Jam⁴⁴, a famous centre of learning, where he met Sheikh Ahmad Jami, who had the honour of possasing the gown of Prophet Hazrat Mohammad (s.a.w). Maulana Sarfi claims to have seen this gown⁴⁵.

After Jam Maulana Sarfi proceeded to the famous centre of learning Herat⁴⁶. Here he visited some Holy places and attended the sermons of Ahmad Kardgar⁴⁷.

After Herat, Maulana Sarfi visited the cities of Sabzwar⁴⁸, Simnan and Isfarayan⁴⁹, where he had meetings with Sheikh Hassan, Sheikh Mohammad Ali and Sheikh Ali respectively.

Sheikh Sarfi than visited Kashan⁵⁰ and Qazvin⁵¹. Here he attended the sermons of Sheikh Mohammad Hussain and Sheikh Mohammad Sharief, and had meetings with Abdullah Shustari and Abul Hassan⁵². In Qazvin he also called on Shah Tahmasp Safavi⁵³. Probably Sheikh Sarfi had a chance of meeting emperor Humayun, while in exile in Iran. He also visited Iraq and stayed there for a short time. In Baghdad he had meeting with so many personalities of his time. Hereafter the Sheikh entered the Arab world. During his stay he searched for the spiritually emancipated personalities. After having accomplished his objective, Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi returned to his home-land.

As a multidimensional personality Maulana Sarfi had contacts with all classes of people. He commanded respect equally from royalty, nobility, ulema, sufis, saints and the masses. Besides other qualities he was a good statesman. His statesmanship came into light when he along with Hyder Khan Chak⁵⁴ was deputed as an ambassador by Yousuf Shah Chak (A.H 987-988/A.D 1579-80 and A.H 989-993/A.D. 1581-1585) to the emperor Akbar's Court. Sheikh Sarfi achieved a great deal of influence in Mughal court and it is opined that he even influenced the great Mughal Akbar as far as his Kashmir policy was considered⁵⁵.

Maulana Sarfi was held at a high esteem by Mulla Abdul Qadir Badayuni, Abul Fazal and Faizi.

Sheikh Sarfi's disciples and companions in Kashmir were not only saints of a high order but famous in their own way as well. Among his companions most important were (i) Baba Daud Khaki (A.H. 994/A.D. 1586), (ii) Maulana Shamsud-din Paul, (iii) Khawja Tahir Rafeeq Ashai (d.Ah. 1001/A.D. 1592), (iv) Baba Ali Raina (v) Mir Baba Hyder (vi) Khawja Hassan Qari (d. A.H. 999/A.D. 1590) and (vii) Khawja Ishaq Qari.

This illustrious son of Kashmir died in A.H. 1003/A.D 1595 and the chronogram is derived from **شیخ یاقوب** (1003). His tomb is situated in the Mohalla Aishan Sahib on the left bank of river Jehlum near Zaina Kadal Srinagar Kashmir.

Notes and References:-

1. His date of birth is derived from the chronogram **شیخ یاقوب** (928). His father Sheikh Hassan Ganai was a Jagirdar of his time, enjoying the respect of the masses. For details see (i) Abdul Wahab Noori, *Fathai Kubraviya* (MS), F.No. 219/b. Research Library, Iqbal Library building Kashmir University, Srinagar. ii) Ameeru-din-Pakhlival, *Tahqeeqat-i-Ameeri* (MS), F.No. 103/a, Research Library, Srinagar. iii) Mufti Mohammad Shah, *Hayat-i-Sarfi*, Electric Press Lahore, p.11 iv) G.M.D. Sufi, *Kasheer*, vol. II, p. 135 Genealogy of the Shiekh has been traced to the Caliph Umar.
2. Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi's contribution is not only in the field of Persian but also in Arabic. Some of his reputed works are mentioned as under:-
 - i) *Diwan-i-Sarfi* (Persian Poetry)
 - ii) *Khams-i-Sarfi* (Persian), collection of five mathnavis namely (a) *Maslakhul-Akhyar* (A.H. 993), (b) *Wamaq-u-Uzra* (A.H. 993), (c) *Laila Majnoon* (A.H. 998) (d) *Maqamat-in-Murshid* (A.H. 1000) (e) *Magaz-un-Nabi* (A.H. 1000),
 - iii) *Risalai Zikriya* (Persian Prose)
 - iv) *Risalai Kanzul Jawahar* (Persian Prose)
 - v) Commentary on *Rubaiyat-i-Sarfi* A.H. 962, Persian Prose)
 - vi) *Rawaiyat-i-Sarfi* (Persian Prose)
 - vii) Commentary on *Sahih Bukhari* (Arabic)
 - viii) *Manasik-i-Hajj* (Arabic)
 - ix) Notes on *Tawzih-u-talwih* (Arabic)
 - x) Taqreez on *Saqati-ul-Ilhami-i-Faizi* (Arabic)
 - xi) Commentary on Holy Quran namely Mutlibut-Talbain (in complete)
 - xii) *Awrad-i-Sarfi* etc.

3. سپرداست انگه مرابجی
که بود است از اولیای شکی
محمد و رانام و آنی لقب
ز جامی گرفته فنون ادب
See Sarfi, Magzun-Nabi Ms No 13, Research library Kashmir University Building, Srinagar.
4. This Madrassah is best know as Khankah Baba Ismil Kubravy (d. A.H.916), Built by Sultan Hassan Shah Shahmiri (d.A.H.889/A.D.1484) on the north side of mountain namely Koh-i-Maran. For details see (i) Peer Gh. Hussan *tarikh-i-Hassan*, Vol I Kashmir, P. 348 for details see
(i) Baba Daud Mishkati, *Asrarul Abrar* Ms, f no 34/b, Reserch library, Srinagar.
(ii) Abdul Wahab Noori, *Fathati-Kubravya* Ms, F No 13/a, Reserch Library, Srinagar.
5. برسم تخلص به نظم کلام
مرا صر فی آں نامور ماز نام
See, Sarfi, *Magazun-Nabi* Ms, Resrch Library Kashmir university Building, Srinagar.
6. See
(i) Abdul Wahab Noori, *Fathati-Kubravya* Ms, F. No 219/b, Reserch Libarary, Srinagar.
(ii) Abdul Wahab Shaiq, *Riyadul- Islam* Ms J and K cultural acadamy Library, Srinagar.
(iii) Khawaja Mohammad Azam, *Waqat-i-Kashmir* Kashmir 1936, P 110-11.
(iv) Per Gh. Hassan, *Tarikh-i-Hassan* vol III, Kashmir 1960, P 192.
(v) Mufti Mohammad Shah, *Hayat-i-Sarfi* Lahore, P13.
Besides his other honours, Shiekh Sarfi is best known as Shiekh-i-umam, Jami-ul-Kamalat and Abu Hanifa thani.
7. Maulana Ani died in A.H 948/1541 A.D. in Srinagar and he is burried in the masoleum of Bahaud-Din Ganj Baksh in Srinagar, Maulana Abdul Wahab Shaiq,, a noted Kashmiri Poet, cites his grave yard as:-
آسوده چوں از جهان را ندر غمش
بجائی یگر دروازه روضه صحت
بلای صفت ای مصیبت و خوش رنگ است
مگر مرقد آنی است آں مکان
(See, Abdul Wahab Shaiq, *Riyadul Islam* Ms, J&K cultural acadamy library, Srinagar.
8. Mulla Hafiz Basir was a native of a village Krank Shaiwan, in the vicinity of Sopore Kashmir. It is said that he was blind by birth. In his childhood he came to Srinagar, where he studied Fiqah, Hadith, Tafseer, Mathamatics & Philosophy. He established a madrassa at Khand Bhawan Srinagar and spent his all life there. He died in 946 A.H and was burried in the vicinity of madrassa. Shiekh Yaqoob Sarafi Paid his homage in this couplet.
آں حافظ علم و ادب بوده بصیر از فضل رب
تاریخ فوتش زان سبب شد عالم تفسیر دان
9. Mulla Mir Raziud-Din a great Alim of his age was an authority on Fiqah and Hadith. In the reign of Mirza Haideer Dauglat (947-58 A.H) he was appointed as Head Master in the reputed Shahi Madrasa. Khawaja Mohammad Azam auther of *Waqat-i-Kashmir* has described him as a writer of many books. Maulan died in the year 958 A.H/1549 A.D. His chonogram is derived from the
مینور سجده جان سپرد بحق (985). His grave yard is said to be located in a village Sarai-Danger Pora in Srinagar district.
10. Shiekh Sarfi records
ز کلامی در حافظ بنیر
مراقبه آموخت و نحو صرف
چیز طرز مخصوص و چیز طرز عموم
ز شعر و معانی و خط
شدم در علوم دگر بهره گیر
رضی آں بستی شان فضلش نگویند
همی گفت درس جمیع علوم
بهر هنر جویش هم صد ضبط

چہ گویم تر حافظ بصیری کہ بود
خبردار ز اسرار کشف و شعور
ازو علم صوفیہ اندو ختم
دقیقات عقلیہ اندو ختم
فن منطق و اصطلاح کلام
بدیع و بیان و معانی تمام

Sarfi, *Magizun-Nabi* Ms, J&K Research Library.

11. It is stated that Shiekh Sarfi's father deputed him to Superintend the Jagir, where a music concert was arranged which invited the wrath of his father and led to his repentance. During the same night he saw Shiekh Hussain Khawarazmi with a sword and cutting at his (Sarfi's) feet. When he woke up, his foot was virtually bleeding. Shiekh Sarfi himself records:-

ایہا اہلگوں کہ ایں بندہ
کہ سب وی آمد زندہ
بود در دن سن ہزار خل
گید اہول خوشن کا دل
از کاتر نہ شستم پر سیز
نرسن بد جلا و قسم تیز
در زانیکہ با چا کت سن
بودم اندو دبار خود ساکن
از صلا کہ بود فتن و ساز
یکشی صد نامتم رو داد
دست بہ ہلہوہ بر کام اللہ
توبہ کردم زمرہ صحت گاہ
بود بچند سہ تو نہ شکست
برو شیطانی مریض از دست
ہو انان در نماز فر میان
گشت بر بندہ آں نام زمانہ
داقت نیکی بہمت و گفتار
بزید ایں مجرب پا را پی
پس از صوفی را نہ انتہا دم
شدہ عقل و شعور بر ہدم
نغم دریاہ ص میان بہ نمود
کہ ازلن زغم نہ ہوش خود

See, Sarfi, *Maqamat-i-Murshid* Ms, Research Library,, Kashmir university P 56-57.

12. For details see
(i) Khawaja Habibullah Hubbi, *Maqamat-i-Hazrat-i-Aishan* Ms, Research Library Fol No 134/a,-135/b.
(ii) Abdul Wahab Noori, *Fathat-i-Kubravya* Ms, Research Library, Srinagar, P 22/a.
(iii) Khawaja Mohammad Azam, *Waqat-i-Kashmir* Kashmir 1936, P 110-11.
13. Regarding Kabul,, Balkh, Badkhsan and Samarqand pl see the pages of the present article.

14. روی دل از غیر خدا تا نفتم
بار چوں در خدمت او یافتم
ز درقم آمد محیط از کنار
چوں نظرے کرد بایں خاکسار

See, *Maslahul Akhyar* Ms, Research Library, Kashmir University, Srinagar, P 15-16.

15. در اندک زمان ساخت روشنیہ
شہ از بہر تو م پر روشنائی گزین
بسج را پیر و انسج سو ختم
تعبج مکن مگر مرا نیز پیر
چہ روشن ضمیرے کنز وے زمین
چو شمع مصداقیت بر افرو ختم

See, Sarfi *Magazum-Nabi* Ms, Research Library, Kashmir University, P 10

16. آنکہ کرد بدست خویش رقم
عاقبت داد خط ارشاد م
شکر آں بندہ ہم بجا آورد
خمر وے ای ہم مرا عنایت کرد

see, Khawaja Habibullah Habbi, *Maqamat-i-Hazrat-i-Aishan* Ms, Reserch Library F 157/b.

17. This Khanqah was built by Shiekh Mohammad Sultan Kashmiri and famous Saint Mir Mohammad Hamadani jointly in the reign of Sultan Sikander Shahmiri (A.D 1389-1413) see, peer Gh. Hassan, *tarikh-i-Hassan* vol I, Kashmir, P 349.

18. His prominent disciples initiated by him to his order were
(i) Khawaja Habbibullah Hubbi (d 1026 A.H)
(ii) Mohammad Mir Khalifa (d 1015 A.H)

- (iii) Shah Qasim Haqani (d 1033 A.H)
 (iv) Maulanna Hassan Afaqi (d 1018 A.H)
 (v) Mir Sayid Hamza Kriri (d 1026 A.H)
 (vi) and Shiekh Ahamad Sirhandi (d 1034 19 A.H) etc. etc.

19. لیک دید است بهر خود در خواب
اولاً سیرکن خراسان را
شیخ دین زبیر سبب بر آورد رو
گفت فی وقت رفتن است بر آب
بر بزم بچشم خود تو مردان را
بخراسان بگرد از دی رو

See, Khawaja Habbibullah Hubbi, *Maqamate-i-Hazrat-i-Aishan* Ms, Research Library, P158/a.

20. Khawaja Habbibullah Hubbi, *Maqamat-i-Hazrat-Aishan* Ms, Research Library, P 158/a.
21. Kabul is the capital of present Afganistan. It lies on the Highway Passing through between Hindustan and Khorasan.
 Babur Mirza gives a detailed account of Kabul, its surroundings, climate, seasons, fruits religion and nation etc.
 For details see Babur Mirza, *Tuzk-i-Babri* urdu translation, Lahore, P 78-86.

22. وگرز نکتہ دانی بدھر
عیدل جلال دوانی بدھر

See, Sarfi, *Magazun-Nabi* Ms, J&K Research Library P 11.

It is not the Jalalud-Din Dawani the writer of *Ikhlai Jalali*, but some other person of the same name. For historical record see *Tarikhi Adabiyat-i-Iran* by Reza zadeh Shafaq, urdu translation, Hyderabad PP 445-46 and *literary History of Peria* by Prof E.G. Brown, vol II, London P 444.

23. Badakhshan Lies on the road to Khurasan from Hindustan.
24. Qunduz is situated on the north of Kabul. see, Babur Mirza, *Tuzk-i-Babri*, urdu translation, Lahore 1965, P 78.
25. Noorud-Din Jaffar Badakhshi, a great saint and a scholar of repete, was one of the prominent disciples of Sayyid Ali Hamadani and the teacher of Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani. He wrote a book namely *Khulasat-ul-Manaqib* in the year 787 A.H. One of the manuscript copy of this book is lying in the Research Library Kashmir University Building, Srinagar.

26. As one of the districts of Badakhshan Kulab is more famous (see Steingass, Persian English Dictionary, New Delhi, pp. 1068

27. بکولاب ابد الیم رو نمود
مشرف شد آنجا فقیر فقیر
مزار پر انوار سید علی
باسرار پنجان کهنه وجود
بطوف مزار امیر کبیر
مقصود بجان بندہ آن ولی

See, Sarfi, *Magazun-Nabi* Ms, Research Library, Kashmir University, Srinagar p11

28. It was one of the important capitals of Khurasan (Mauran Nahar). It lies 10 Farsangs from the Oxus.
 (see, Steingass, *Persian English Dictionary* New Delhi 1981, p. 19.
 Nowadays Balkh is just like a village on the bank of dry river Balkh in the northern Afghanistan (see Luzac, *Encyclopida of Islam*, vol. iv London 1973, p100)
29. Bokhara is one of the historical cities of Samarqand, lying in the west on the distance of five Farsang from Samarqand. Babur holds praises it for its delicious fruits. (see Babur Mirza *Tuzk-i-Babri*, Urdu translation, Lahore 1965, p. 32.

30. شد از روضه خواجه نقش بند نقش ازل لوح دل بهره مند
 مرا روضه خواجه نخچر وان عیان ساخته رازهای نهان
 See, Sarfi, *Magazun-Nabi* MS, Research Library, p.11
31. Regarding Samarqand Babur Mirza has given a detailed account.
 See Babur Mirza, *Tuzk-i-Babri*, Urdu translation, Lahore, p 28-31.
32. See Sarfi *Magizun-Nabi* MS, Research Library, Kashmir University Srinagar, p 11
33. Tashqand is the capital of modern republic of Uzbekistan, situated on the North of Mauraun-Nahar.
34. Amir Timurs birth place, Shahri Sabz is one of the famous cities of Samarqand (see Babur Mirza, *Tuzk-i-Babri*, Urdu translation, Lahore 1985, p. 32.
35. Undjan is the capital of Fargana all the inhabitants of Undjan are Turkish in origin. The fort of Undjan is very strong. It is famous for grapes, melons, and pear fruits. For details see, Babar Mirza, *Tuzk-i-Babri*, Urdu translation, Lahore, p. 10.
36. Kat is one of the cities of Khurasan.
 See Steingass, *Persian English Dictionary*, New Delhi 1981, p 1000.
37. Here he met and had discussions with Sheikh Mohammad Sadiq, Sayyid Mohammad Amin, Sheikh Ahmad Yasvi, Sheikh Abbass, besides Sheikh Maqsood respectively.
38. Khiva (خیوق) is one of the States of Faras.
39. The ancient name of Khawarazm was Chorrasm, it is situated on the banks of Oxus and extends upto caspian sea.
 Half of it belongs to Iran and Half to Turan.
 See, Steingass, *Persian English Dictionary*, New Delhi 1981, p 479
40. The Sheikh Sarfi paid his homage at the tomb of Sheikh Najmud-Din Kubra.
41. Mashhad, early known as "Tus", is one of the famous cities of Iran. The tomb of Hazrat Imam Ali Reza (a.s.) is situated in the city.
42. Regarding this blind woman, Afti, nothing is known about her home land.
43. For details see, Sarfi, *Magazun-Nabi* MS Research Library, p 12.
44. Jam is one of the famous districts of Khurasan. It is the homeland of famous poet Maulana Abdur Rehman Jami.
45. مرا باطن شیخ احمد نمود رہی کز سوی اللہ بالتہ بود
 ہما بجا کین بندہ آنخر تہ دید کہ از خاتم المسلسلینش رسید
 See, Sarfi *Magaziun-Nabi* MS, Research Library, p 12.
46. Name of one of the important city in Khurasan.
 (See Steingass, *Persian English Dictionary* New Delhi 1981, p 1493)
47. برون آمد از شرح و بیان صفات ہرات و مزارات آن
 زیارت گیش آمدہ مرہ فیض زمینش سرا سر ہمہ فیض ربینہ
 در آنجا بظاہر اصل نظر ندیدم بجز احمد سکار و گھر

See, Sarfi Magazun-Nabi MS, Research Library p 13.

48. Name of a country in Persia (Irak) and also of a town there, Sabzawar, name of a town in Khurasan (Steingass, *Persian English Dictionary* New Delhi 1981, p 648).
49. Name of a city in Khurasan (see Steingass, *Persian English Dictionary* New Delhi, p. 88)
50. Name of a city in Persia (Irak) (Steingass, *Persian English Dictionary* New Delhi 1981, p 1005)
51. Name of a city in Persia (Irak) Steingass, *Persian English Dictionary* New Delhi 1981, p 969.

52. *بمذهب بسی رفت گفتارها
که در فضل او کس ندارد سخن* *بعبید الله مشتمی بارها ...
بستی منتفع گشتم از ابوالحسن*

See, Sarfi Magazun-Nabi MS, Research Library, p 13

53. *مراسخت آس نامور آشنا
من از صحبتش جسته با حق پناه
من از خبر من علم او خوشه چین* *طهماسب آتشاه کشور کشا
بحالم بسی ملتفت بود شاه
توجه بحال من از خبر دین*

See, Sarfi, Magazun-Nabi MS, Research Library, p 13

It is stated that Sheikh Sarfi advised Shah Tahmasp Safvi to adopt a policy of clemency towards his subjects immetorial of religious beliefs.

For details see Tayub Shah Sidiqi, *Rishat-i-Kalami Sarfi*, Kashmir 1964, pp 29. But the advice was actually given to Hassan Beigh Darooga then Governor of Qandhar.

Sarfi records:-

*مرامقصد گشته بود این عجب
نبود است هرگز بکس مهربان
پیشمان ز رخا ندان خلق عیشت* *حسن بیگ داروغه میر غضب
تعجب از آنست کان ترکمان
بپند من از طور خود در گذشت*

See, Sarfi, Magazun Nabi MS, Research Library p. 13

54. i) Mohammad Qasim Shah, *Tarikhi-Firishua*, p 367
ii) Parmoo, *History of Muslim rule in Kashmir* New Delhi, p 367-68 iii) P.N.K. Bamzai, *History of Kashmir*, p 324.
55. Prof. Mohibul Hassan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*,

REPRINTS

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By A.F.Rudolf Hoernle. (published in their Journal of 1911)

THE "UNKNOWN LANGUAGES" OF EASTERN TURKESTAN.

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE

Among the Stein MSS. there are a number of rolls, varying in length from about 2 to 23 feet, and in breadth from about 10 to 12 inches. They are inscribed on one side with Chinese and on the other with Eastern Turkestani characters¹. The latter are not that species of upright Gupta characters of the essentially Indian type in which the two "bilingual" texts are written, and of which a specimen is shown in the Plate accompanying my article in the *Journal* for 1910. They rather constitute a development from the Indian Gupta characters, which has never been found in India but which appear to have originated among the Eastern Turkestanis themselves. Moreover in our present state of knowledge, this essentially Eastern Turkestani species of Gupta characters, which in my early report on them in 1897, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (vol. lxvi), I have named 'cursive', appears to have been restricted to that relatively southern area of Eastern Turkestan in which the language of the two "bilingual" texts was current. In the relatively northern area of the other "unknown" language of Eastern Turkestan, to which the Berlin savants propose to give the name of Tokhari, the Indian Gupta developed what, in my still earlier report on the Weber MSS, in 1893 (*Ibid.*, vol. lxii, p. 4), I named the "slanting" species of it; and this species appear to have been limited to that area. We have, therefore, in Eastern Turkestan three species of Gupta characters: (1) the upright Gupta of the Indian type, (2) the 'slanting' Gupta, and (3) the "cursive" Gupta, both these latter species being of Eastern Turkestani origin, and apparently restricted to the relatively northern and southern parts of Eastern Turkestan respectively. In the sequel, I shall, for the sake of brevity, Provisionally distinguish the two still undefined languages of these two areas as the "northern unknown" and the "southern unknown".

Further, according to our present knowledge, the "slanting" species originated at a very early period (*circa* fourth century A.D.); for it appears in manuscripts which, so far as we know, are practically contemporary with the earliest written in the upright Gupta species². On the other hand, the "cursive" species appears to have originated at a much later period, about the sixth or seventh century A.D.,³ if we may judge from the age of the Chinese documents, together with which the documents in "cursive" Gupta have been found, and which belong to the eighth century (see Dr. Steins's *Ancient Khotan*, vol. i, p. 271).

There is a curiously suggestive similarity of *ductus* between the *Kharoshthi* and "cursive" Gupta types of writing found in Eastern Turkestan. Both favour an elongated form of letters, as compared with the squat form of the upright or Indian Gupta. This similarity suggests that the "cursive" Gupta may have developed under the influence of the *Kharoshthi* script, which was current in the same area at a much earlier period, and that the "cursive" Gupta came in when the *Kharoshthi* went out of fashion.

Our acquaintance with the "cursive" Gupta script dates from the year 1895, when the Godfrey MSS. fell into my hands. the first specimens of it were published by me from those manuscripts in 1897, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (vol. lxvi, pp. 225 ff., pls. iv-vii). Additional specimens from them were published in 1901 in my "Report on the British Collection of Central Asian Antiquities", pt ii (published as an Extra Number of JASB, lxx, pp. 30ff., pls. vi, vii) and by Dr. Stein in his *Anicient Khotan*, vol. ii, pl. cx (D.III, 12). In my description of the documents in which the script occurred, I said that "the characters of the writing are evidently Brahmi of a very cursive type" (JASB., vol. lxvi, p. 229), and in my Report (P.32) I spoke of the script as "a species of cursive Brahmi". The main reason for thus designating the script was that it represented a very degraded type of the upright Gupta script and that its use seemed to be confined to documents, public or private, semi-religious or secular to the exclusion of all literature proper, whether religious or secular. The latter distinction still holds good. Even now, with all the mass of manuscripts, literary and documentary, which Dr. Stein has brought back from his last tour of exploration, the "cursive" Gupta script has not been found employed in any literary work, nor in any *pothi*. The single exception I know of are the two folios, 7 and 8, which have been inserted into the *pothi* of the *Aparimitayuh Sutra*, to replace two lost folios which had been written in the ordinary literary upright Gupta of the rest of the work (see *Journal* for 1910, P. 834). Still, though provisionally I retain it, because of its convenience, the term "cursive" is hardly appropriate, because the letters of the script, however quickly or badly written, are not "running", that is, not connected with one another. In this respect they do not differ from the letters of the upright or slanting species of Gupta. Moreover, as may be seen from the illustrative plates accompanying this article, they may be written with any variety of neatness or coarseness.

The initial difficulty in reading the letters of the "cursive" Gupta script was that some of them had grown so similar to one another and others had wandered so far away from their original Gupta form that their identity became almost unrecognizable. As explained in my Report of 1901 (loc. cit., p. 32), it took some years before the identity, e.g. of the signs for *ma* and *bha*, was recognized. In these circumstances it was a most welcome discovery to find on the back of some of the rolls, which Dr. Stein submitted to me for examination, more or less complete tables of the Eastern Turkestan cursive alphabet and its

syllabaries, which were evidently modelled on the similar tables current in India. For an account of the latter I may refer to Buhler's *Origin of the Indian Brahma Alphabet* (2nd ed., 1898, pp. 27 ff.), and of their Eastern Turkestani counterparts to Watters' remarks in his *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. i, pp. 154 ff., and to Dr. Rosthorn's letter in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. x, pp. 280 ff., also to Dr. Takakusu's Translation of Itsing, pp. 170-1. From the report of the Chinese writers about these tables, which they call *si-tan-chang*, i.e. siddham-sections, it appears that they commenced with the word *siddham*, followed by the alphabet, or series of radical signs (Sanskrit *matrka*) that is, the twelve (so-called) vowels, *a a i i u u e a i o a u a m a h*, and the thirty-four consonants, *k k h g g h n, c c h j j h n, t t h d d h n, t t h d d h n, p p h b b h m, y r l v, s s s, h, k s*. Huilin, a native of Kashgar, who wrote his account at some time between 788 and 810 A. D. adds the four vowels *rr ll* which he calls supplementary. From this it may perhaps be inferred that the rolls, none of the alphabets of which includes these four supplementary vowels, must be referred to a date earlier than Huilin. The alphabet was followed by a set of syllabaries, the first of which gave the combinations of the consonants, singly, with the vowels, while the others gave the same vowel-combination with the consonants in various ligatures. All Chinese accounts agree with regard to the first syllabary, which comprised thirty-four series of combinations, beginning with the series *ka ka, ki ki, ku ku, ke kai, ko kau, kam, kah*, and ending with the series *ksa ksa, ksi ksi, etc.* Regarding the othersyllabaries the accounts do not agree. Hiuen Tsiang (seventh century) gives their number as twelve; but the number usually given (e.g., by Itsing, seventh century, Huilin, ninth century) is eighteen. The precise reason for this difference does not clearly appear from the accounts; but according to Buhler the tabulated ligatures included those made with *y, r, l, v*, and the five nasals; and that much the rolls tend to confirm. The whole *siddham-chang*, then, would appear to have been a long statement, consisting of a number of "sections" (*chang*), which began with the alphabet and continued with a varying number of syllabaries, the whole statement being headed by the word *siddham*, which served as its name. The term *siddham-chang*, accordingly, would mean "the sections of the *siddham*"⁴.

Now the rolls discovered by Dr. Stein in the main confirm those Chinese accounts. The most important, for our immediate purpose, is the Roll Ch. cviii, 007, which is 10ft. 9in. long by 1½ inches wide. On its back it is inscribed with a very long statement, which practically covers its entire length. It is divided into three sections, the first of which gives the alphabet, while the two others contain syllabaries. See Plate I, which shows the alphabet in ll. 1-6, and the commencements of the two syllabaries in ll. 8-10, 42, and ll. 43, 44. Of the two syllabaries, the first gives the vowel combinations of the single consonants (l. 9), *ka ka ki ki ku ku*, and so forth, down to (l. 42) *ksa ksa ksi ksi etc.*, while the second gives the syllabary of the conjuncts made with *y*, that is (l. 43), *kya kya kyi kyi*, and so forth down to *lya lya lyi lyi, etc.* It is not complete; the series of vowel

combinations of the last six ligatures, *vy, sy, sy, sy, hy, ksy*, are wanting. Why they should have been omitted is not apparent, for there is just sufficient blank space left at the bottom of the roll to have taken them. But whatever the reason may have been, the omitted six series are found at the extreme top of the back of another roll, Ch. xc, 002. See Plate II, ll. 1-6 (the original size of the portion shown is 19 by 10½ inches). The line of the first series (*vya vya vyi vyi, etc.*) stands so close upon the upper margin of the roll that its edge cuts through some of the vowel marks, thus proving that at one time the roll must have been somewhat larger than it is at present, its present length being only 6 ft. 5 in. (with a width of 10½ inches). As, however, the papers of the two rolls are of entirely different make—Role 002 is soft, while Roll 007 is hard—they cannot have constituted two portions of single roll torn as under. At the same time, the handwriting in the syllabaries on the two rolls is so strikingly alike as to make it impossible to doubt the identity of their writers. Roll 002 is so short that it may be suggested that originally it was some 10 feet longer, and that the portion now missing carried the alphabet and the complement of the syllabary. The upper portion being torn away and lost, the missing portion of the statement was rewritten on Roll 007. This would explain the abrupt ending of the second syllabary on the later roll. Following immediately on the completion of the syllabary of the conjuncts with *y*, on the back of Roll 002, there comes the syllabary of the conjuncts with *r*. It begins (l. 7) with the series *kra kra kri kri, etc.*, and ends (l. 39) with the series *ksra ksra ksri ksri, etc.*, each series occupying a separate line. There are, however, only thirty-three lines instead of thirty-four, because the series with the vowel notations of the conjunct *bhr* is omitted—whether intentionally or not will be considered in the sequel (p. 464). At the end of this third syllabary there is appended the following remark:-

vimjilaki byam di ni tsa nrvi (?) ha yam ni dau la ni pa ja dra a ysa
ja ga tca sni pi ka sadham

This remark concludes the statement of the alphabet and syllabaries, which commences on the back of Roll 007 and continues on the back of Roll 002; for what follows the remark on the back of the latter roll is written in an entirely different hand, and refers to a different statement, which will be explained further on (p. 457).

The precise meaning of the remark is at present not intelligible, but one point is fairly certain, namely, that the term *vimjilaki* must denote the preceding "statement," and is probably equivalent to the Chinese term *chang* or *siddham-chang*, "sections of the *siddham*." For we meet with that term, variously spelled *vajalaka* or *vaijalaka*, also on other rolls, but always in immediate reference to statement of the alphabet and syllabaries. Thus (below, p. 457) it occurs twice on the back of Roll Ch. 0042, by way of introducing a *siddham* statement. It is found also in a like connexion on three minute fragments of the Roll. Ch. 0046

in the phrase

- (1) oyasa viajalaka suhamka,
- (2)... vaijalaka suhamka,
- (3) eysa suhamka vaijalaka.

We have, then, here on the back of the Rolls 007 and 002 an example of the *siddham-chang* as described by the Chinese witnesses, comprising the initial *siddham*, the alphabet, and a varying number of syllabaries, in the present case only three. But our example amplifies their testimony in two particulars. In the first place, the word *siddham* stands at the head, not only of the whole statement, but introduces also each of the "sections" (*chang*). In fact, our example interpolates a sentence between the alphabet and the series of three syllabaries. The latter are introduced thus (Pl. I, 1.7):-

sidham nta nta mahajsa pyu,
i.e. "listen to this siddham from me".

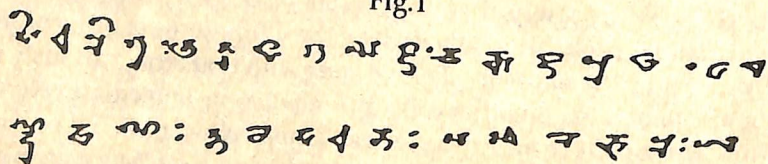
In the second place, the alphabet includes not only the radical signs of the letters, but also those of the numerals. It runs as follows (Pl. I, II. 1-6):-

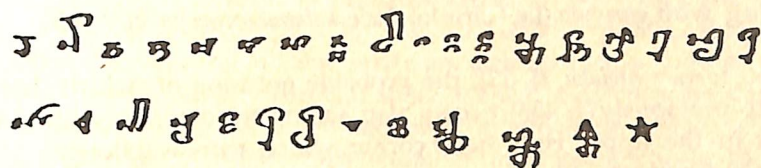
- 1.1, sidham a a e i a u e ai o au am a
- 1.2, k kh g gh n c ch j jh n t th nd
- 1.3, dh n nt th d dh n p ph b bh m
- 1.4, y r l v s s s h ks
- 1.5, ta 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 20 30
- 1.6, 40 50 70 60

There are some peculiarities in this scheme of radical signs, to which I shall return later on. With regard to my transcript of the radical signs of the consonants, it should be observed that, as written in the original (viz., without the *virama* attachment), they represent, considered from the Sanskrit point of view, not radicals (*k kh*, etc.), but syllables (*aksara*, *ka kha*, etc.). But the Chinese accounts explain that in the alphabet the signs express "half-sounds", while in the syllabaries they express "full-sounds" (VOJ., x, 281). Thus the "full-sound" of a syllable (*aksara*), e.g. of *ka*, consists of the two "half-sounds", the consonantal element *k*, and the vocalic element *a*.

The second peculiarity, regarding the composition of the alphabetical table, is fully confirmed by another roll. This is Roll Ch. xc, 003. It is very long, measuring 22 feet, with a width of 10 inches; but with the exception of the small space (about four inches) at the top of the roll, occupied by the alphabetical table, the remainder is blank. The table is shown in Fig. 1, reduced to about one-third of the original.

Fig.1





It runs as follows :-

- 1.1, sidham a : u k kh g gh n c ch j jh n t th
- 1.2, nd dh n : nt th d dh n : p ph b bh m : y
- 1.3, r l v s s h ks Ta 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 1.4, 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 1000 10000 100000

It will be observed that in this table the series of the numeral radicals is more extended; and that it places the radicals for 60 and 70 in their proper order. In the table of Roll 007 they are misplaced, probably by a mere scribal error. The syllable *ta* which introduces the series of the numeral radicals in both tables may possibly be the Eastern Turkestani term (or the initial syllable of it) for "numeral". On the other hand, our present table apparently omits the vocalic radicals altogether; for the two solitary radicals a and u probably represent merely the mystic syllable *om* (i.e. *aum*).

Attention may be called to the calligraphic execution of the "cursive" Gupta writing in the alphabet and syllabaries of the rolls 002, 003, and 007. They were evidently written by a practised hand. The appearance of the writing is very different in the rolls to which we now proceed. In them it is exceedingly coarse, and points to an illiterate person or to one who was quite unfamiliar with the "cursive" Gupta script.

This coarse handwriting may be seen on the back of Roll Ch. 0042. The roll measures 6 ft. 5 in. in length by 10 inches in width; but only about 16 inches (from the top) are inscribed; the remainder is blank: see Plate III.⁵ The inscribed portion commences with seven lines of most disorderly writing. Then follow five lines (II. 8-12) of more orderly writing beginning with -

- 1.1, Sidham nta nta majsa va pyusta he bye khu spa namau
- 1.2, disabhala (ca)⁵ cakravantri Sakyamuni gyistibaysi, etc.
- i.e. "Siddham. Thus it has been heard by me. Salutation to Dasabala, Chakravartin, Sakyamuni, the Blessed", etc.

After this comes (II. 13, 14) an attempt at the table of radical signs, which reads as follows :-

- 1.1, abaya dam vaijalaka Sadham a (u)⁶ u k kh g gh
- 1.2, n c ch j jh n t (th)⁵ th
- 1.14 { 1.3, nd n nt th d dh n p dh

Then follow other five lines of text (II. 15-19), commencing with-

1.1, Sidhama uma sava budarave suha
i.e. "Siddham Om to all Buddhas svaha",
and ending with *garonda* (i.e. Garuda) *buje kabamamvarana buja suha*.

The term *viajalaka*, (I. 13), the probable meaning of which has been referred to previously (p. 453), occurs also among the disorderly lines, in the statement in the upper right-hand corner, which runs as follows :-

- 1.1, dam vaja (la)⁷ laka
- 1.2, sidhama a u k kh g
- 1.3, gh n c ch j jh n

The same, or a very similar, coarse handwriting appears on the back of Roll 002, immediately below the remark, above referred to (p. 453), with which the three syllabaries conclude. It consists of an exceedingly ill-executed and incomplete *siddham-chang* (Pl. II. II. 42-6), which runs as follows :-

- 1.1, sidhama a a u k (kh)⁷ kh g gh n c ch j jh
- 1.2, n t t nd dh n nt th d dh n p ph b bh
- 1.3, m y r l v s s s h ks *padhama*
- 1.4, ka ka (ka)⁷ ki ki ku ku ke kai ko kau kam ka kha kha
- 1.5, khi khi (kha) khu khu khe khai kho khau (kha)⁷
- 1.6, kham kha ga ga gi gi gu gu go gau gam ga gha gha
- 1.7, ghi ghi ghu pu ghe (gha)⁷ ghai ghau ghau gham
- 1.8, gha na na ne ni nu nu ne nai no nau nam (na) na ca ca
- 1.9, ci ci cu cu ce cai co⁸ cau cam ca cha cha chi chi chu
- 1.10, chu cho chau che chai cham cha ja ja ji ji ju ju je
- 1.11, jai jo jau jam ja jha (jha) jha jhi jhi jhu jhu
- 1.12, jhe jhai jho jhau jham pa sa (idha)⁷ dhama a

That this statement was written by an illiterate person is shown not only by its coarse execution, but also by its numerous errors; *ge gai* is omitted in 1.6, *cho chau* and *che chai* are misplaced in 1.10, *kha, na, and jha* are superflously repeated in II. 5, 8, and II; *khu khu, nu nu, cu cu, chu chu, ju ju* stand for *khu khu, nu nu* etc., in II. 5, 8-10; *pu* and *pa* are wrongly written for *ghu* and *jha* in II. 7 and 12; the *virama* is omitted in *siddhama* in II. 1 and 12. Occasionally *i* is hardly distinguishable from *e*, as in *khai*, 1.5; it is better in *chi*, 1.9 *jhi*, 1. II⁹.

There is still another roll. Ch. 0046, which deserves notice on account of the striking peculiarities in its scheme of the alphabet and syllabary. It is a mere fragment of a roll measuring 15 by 10". The inscription on its back has the unusual arrangement that it commences with the simple syllabary, and then proceeds in the concluding three lines, to the alphabet. The latter (Pl. IV, II. 17-19) runs as follows :-

- 1.1, Sidham a a e i a u e va ai au va au a a k kh g gh n c ch
- 1.2, j j h n nt th d dh n p ph b bh m y r l v a s s s h
- 1.3, ks

Here the following points are noticeable: (1) The entire omission of the

group of cerebral radicals; (2) the dissociation of the aspiration in *g-h* for *gh*, and in *j-h* for *jh*; (3) the identity, or practical identity, of *n* with *j*, and of *d* with *s*. Turning to the syllabary (II. 1-16), the most striking point is that the radical elements of the several syllabic series are arranged in a very unusual and apparently fanciful way,¹⁰ and that some of them apparently are wanting. This may best be seen from the subjoined table, in which the radicals are placed in their normal order, while the raised numbers indicate their normal order, while the raised numbers indicate their actual order on Roll 0046. The missing radicals are within brackets.

a²² [k¹ kh⁴ g¹³ (gh) (n) [c³ ch¹⁸ j⁹ (jh) n¹⁵ [(t th d dh na)]

nt²³ th²¹ d²⁴ dh¹⁹ n²⁶ [p¹² ph²⁰ b⁸ bh²⁵ (m) [y³ r¹⁰ l⁶ v²]

s¹¹ s¹⁴ (s) [h¹⁷ [ks¹⁶ [ys⁷[[

It will be noticed that (1) the cerebrals are entirely omitted, (2) the aspirates *gh* and *jh* are omitted; but they are so only in appearance, for owing to the dissociation of their aspiration in the table of radicals there was no need of showing *gh* and *jh* in the syllabary, seeing that their dissociated elements, *g*, *j*, and *h*, were already exhibited; moreover, as we shall see (p. 464), the existence of *gh* and *jh* seems doubtful in the "southern unknown" language, which appears to have an aversion to aspirates. (3) For a similar reason, *n*, *m*, and *s* are omitted, for their forms are practically not distinguishable from those of *j*, *b*, and *d* respectively. (4) *bh* has the same peculiar form as in the table of radicals; and (5) *e*, *a*, and *au* are substituted for *i*, *u* and *o* respectively in the alphabet; but in the syllabary *u* and *e* are omitted altogether. Thus, e.g., in 1. 2, we have *ya ya ye yi yu yai yau yau yam ya* instead of *ya ya yi yi yu yu ye yai yo yau yam ya*. Substantially therefore in all the five points the syllabary agrees with, and confirms, the evidence of the alphabet. The only striking point of difference is that the syllabary adds a series of vowel notations for the conjunct *ys* (ii. 4 and 5), apparently treating that conjunct as a radical exactly as the conjunct *ks*.

What precisely the significance of the substitution of *e*, *a*, *au*, and *a*, for *i*, *u*, *o*, and *ah* may be, remains to be discovered. The full tale of radicals is shown only in Rolls 007 and 0046. The others apparently omit the vowels entirely, for their mention of *a* *u* may have reference to the mystic syllable *om*. The substitution of *a* for *ah* is probably a mere formality; for the Sanskrit *visarga*, in all probability, did not exist in the languages of Eastern Turkestan, as little as it does in the vernacular languages of India; thus we have, e.g., *namah sarva*⁰ for *namah sarva*⁰, in 1.10 of the Dharani on Roll 0041 (p. 462). The omission of the *u*-syllables from the syllabary of Roll 0046, and the substitution of *e* and *au* for *i* and *o* respectively, would seem to indicate that the southern unknown language of Eastern Turkestan did not distinguish particularly between the sounds of *u* and *u*, *e* and *i*, *o* and *au*; and this explanation would seem to be

confirmed by the fact that in their proper places the e-syllables are omitted in the syllabary, so that in it the single e represents both *i* and *e*. Somewhat similar phenomena may be observed in the vernaculars of India. Numerous illustrations, on all these points, are furnished by the Dharani on Roll 0041. The curious interpolation of *va* (or *v*?) in the vocalic series of radicals on Roll 0046 is also a point, the explanation of which remains to be discovered.

The most striking point in all the alphabetic and syllabic tables is that they uniformly write *nd* and *nt* in the place of the simple cerebral *d* and dental *t* respectively. It seems to me probable that the intention is not so much to indicate a nasal conjunct consonant, as a simple consonant nasalized, or in some other way modified; but I must leave it to experts in phonetics to determine what the precise significance of the graphic notation may be¹¹. All with which I am now concerned is to show that those tables really represent a truth, namely, that the people who spoke the language which is now under discussion always spoke *nd* and *nt*, where others (e.g. Sanskrit speakers) pronounced *d* and *t*. Among Dr. Stein's rolls there is one, Ch. 0041, measuring 10 ft., 10 in. by 10 ½ inches, the back of which is covered, from top to bottom, with a long Buddhist Dharani, or rather with a pair of Dharanis, or mystical litanies for protection from evils, which extend to 151 lines. The first ends in the middle of the tenth line, and bears no name. It is, however, the well-known *Usnisa-vijaya-dharani*, the Sanskrit text of which has been published by Max Muller in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, vol. i, pt. iii. pp. 9, 22, 35, 36; and a copy of which exists also in the Hodgson Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 79. pt. iv. The second comprises the remainder of the Dharani, from the middle of 1.10 to the end of 1.151. Its name occurs repeatedly in the body of Dharani, e.g. on II. 105 and 126, where it reads *ntatha gantausnisa-saintantapantra-namaparakanta-mahaprantyagra* i.e. Skt. *tathagat-osnisa-sitatapatra-nama Aparijita mahapratyangira*. A Sanskrit copy of this Dharani exists in the same Hodgson Collection, No. 77, as well as in the gigantic roll of Dr. Stein's collection, which will be noticed in the sequel (p.471). The Eastern Turkestani text, however, appears to be mutilated in two places, and in some others it differs not inconsiderably from the Sanskrit text of the Hodgson MS. Both the Dharanis were originally written in Sanskrit (of a kind), but on Roll Ch. 0041 they appear in the form in which their Sanskrit was "transmogrified" in the mouth of the natives of Eastern Turkestan. It is this transmogrification which constitutes their interest, for they are written, one might say, phonetically, and thus illustrate the phonetics of the language. Plate V shows the initial twenty-three lines, which give the whole of the *Usnisa-vijaya* and the commencement of the *Aparajita-mahapratyangira Dharani*. I give the Eastern Turkestani text from the roll, and below it, in italics, the Sanskrit text from the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* and the Hodgson MS., No. 77.

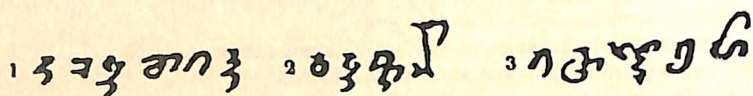
[1.1] Sadhahama Namau rahna-nriyaya namau bagavante ntraile-
(*Namo ratna-trayaya*)¹² *namas (bhagavate)*¹² *trailo-*
kyanta prantavisaistaya badha [1.2] *ya bagavante ntadyatha auma*
kya prativisistaya buddhaya bagavate tadyatha om

visaudiya visaudiya sama sama samantavalgisa [1.3] (spha)¹³ spharana
 visodhaya visodhaya sama sama samantavabhasa spharana
 ganta gahana svabhava visudhe abasaicantu ma suganta vara vante¹⁴
 gati-gahana svabhava-visuddhe abhisimcatu mam sugata-vava-vacana
 a[1.4] mrantabasaikai:¹⁵ maha madra pada ahara¹⁶ ahara ayu sadaran.¹⁵
 amrtabhisekaih maha-mudra-padaih ahara ahara ayuh-sandharani
 sadhna[1.5] ya sadhya gagana visudhe usni¹⁷ vijaya visudhe saha(sra)¹⁸ sra
 sodhaya sodhaya gagana-visuddhe usnisa-vijaya-visuddhe sahasra
 rasmi sacada [1.6] nte sarva ntathaganta hradyadhesthanadhesthanta
 rasmi samcodite sarva-tathagata hydayadhisthanadhisthite
 madre vajara kaya sigantanavisu [1.7] dhe sarvavarana visudha prantanar-
 mudre vajra-kaya-samghatana-visuddhe sarvavarana-visuddhe pratinir-
 varntaya ayu visudhi.¹⁵ samayadhisthante maha [1.8] mane ntadyatha
 vartaya ayur-visuddhe samayadhisthite maha-muni tudyatha
 bunta kauti parasudhi vaisphutinta budha sudhi he he jiya vajiya
 bahuta-koti-parisuddhe visphutita buddhi-suddhe he he jaya vijaya
 va [1.9] jeya smara smara sarva ntathaganta budhadhesthau sudhi
 vijaya smara smara srva-(tathagata)¹⁹ buddadhisthite suddhe
 vajre vajre va parasudhi sarva ntatha [1.10] ganta hrdayadhisthaun-
 vajre vajre-parisuddhe surva-tathagata hrdayadisthan-
 adhesthaunta mujdre svaha || Sadhama namau rahna-triyaya nama
 adhisthite mudre svaha || (Sidham namo ratna-trayaya namah
 sa [1.11] rva badha baudhasatvebya | namau baudhaya namau dharmaya
 sarva-budha-bodhisatvebyah |)²⁰ namo buddaya namo dharmaya
 namo sagaya namo sapntana [1.12] samya sabaudha kautina namau
 namo samghaya namo saptanam samyak-sambuddha-kotinam namo
 lake arhantana namau²¹ srantapannana namau sakrantagau [1.13] mina
 loki arhantanam namah srautapannanam namah sakrdagaminam
 namau anagaumina namau lake samya gantana samya prantapanana
 namo anagaminam namo luke samyag gatanam samyak-pratipannanam
 namau de [1.14] va rsina sapana gra(ha)¹⁸ ha samarthana namau saidha
 namo deva-rsinam (sapanam)²² grha-samarthanam namo siddha
 vidyadhara rsina namau brahma [1.15] na namau Aidrayi namau
 vidyadhara (rsinam)²³ namo brahmanebhyah namo Indraya namo
 bagavante Rau (dra)²⁴ draya Umapanta-sih²⁵ aya namau bagavante [1.16]
 bhagavate Rudhraya Umapati-sahitaya namo bhagavate
 Narayanapa²⁶ ca mahamudra namaskrantaya namau bagavante
 Narayanaya ca mahamudra namaskrtaya namo bhagavate
 mahakalaya ntra [1.17] pura veksaupana karaya adhimuh²⁵ anta samasana-
 mahakalaya tripura-(viksepana)²⁷ - karaya adhimuktika²⁸ - symasana-
 vasane mantra-gana nama (skra)²⁴ skranta [1.18] ya namau bhagavante
 vasine matir-gana-nama (skrtayaya)²⁴ namo bhagavate
 ntathaganta kulya namau padma kulaya namau vajra kulaya [1.19]
 tathagata-kulasya namo padma-kulasya namo vajra-kulasya
 namau mana kulaya namau gaja-kulaya namo kumara kulaya namau
 namo mani-kulasya namo raja-kulasya
 kumara-kulasya namo naga kulya [1.20] namau begavante draindi surasena praharana rajaya
 naga-kulasya namo bhagavate drdha-surasena praharana rajaya
 ntathagantayarahente samya [1.21] sabaudhya namau bagavante
 tathagatayarahente samyak sambuddhidhaya namo bhagavate

Amintabaya ntathagantaya rahente samya sabadha[1.22] ya namau
 (Amiatabhya tathagataya arhate samyak-sambuddhaya namo
 bagavante Aksubyaya ntathagantayarahenta samya saba (dha)²⁴ dhaya
 bhagavate Aksobhyaya tathagatayarahate sumyak- sambuddhaya
 namau ba [1.23] gavante baisaja guru vaidarya praba rajaya ntatha-
 namo bhagavate bhaisajya-guru-vaidurya-prabha-rajaya tatha-
 gantayarahente samya sabaudha [1.24] ya, etc.
 gatayarahate samyak-sambuddhaya, etc.)²⁹

It will be seen from the preceding extract that every Sanskrit *t* becomes *nt* in Eastern Turkestani. Either singly or in ligature, *t* occurs upwards of 400 times in the Dharani, and with two exceptions it is in every case spelled *nt*. The two exceptional cases are the conjuncts *tv* and *st*. In these the simple *t* appears to be preserved regularly ; thus we have

FIG. II.



1.11 (Plate V), baudhasatvebya = *bodhisatvebhyah*

1.101 (Fig. II.1), namas-tathaganta^o = *namas-tathdgata* °.

1.114 (Fig. II.2) vasta-sula^o = *vasti-sula*

The cerebral *ḍ* does not occur so often, but whenever it does occur it appears as *nd*. Thus we have -

1.23 (Plate V), vaidarya = *vaidurya*

1.52 (Fig. II, 3), garunda graha = *garuda-graha*.

1.102, vaintandi ndakani = *vetadi dakani*.

Another example, garonda = *garuda*, occurs in the passage quoted above (p. 456) from Roll 0042.

Another striking point, which however is not so prominently indicated in the alphabetic and syllabic tables, is the loss of aspiration in *b* for *bh* ; e.g. in Plate V,

1.1, bagavante = *bhagavate*,

1.3, svabava = *svabhava*

1.8, bunta-kauti = *bhuta koti* etc.

This loss of aspiration is practically absolute in the Dharani, for in a total of about 150 cases there are only two exceptions ; these are -

1.18, (Plate V), bhagavante = *bhagavate*

1.118, bhayaupadravebya = *bhayopadravebhyah*,

In this connexion it may perhaps be not without significance that in the syllabary on Roll 002 (as noticed on p. 453) the line referring to the vowel notations of the conjunct *bhr* is entirely omitted, though, of course, the omission may be due to an error.

In the case of *gh* and *jh*, probably disaspiration was equally regular; still, those two aspirates are of infrequent occurrence, and hence examples are rare;

but we have, e.g.,

1.6 (Plate V), sagantana = *samghatana*

1.II (Plate V), sagaya = *samghaya*

1.130, vaigna-vanaya = *vighna-vinaya*.

The case of *dh* is peculiar. It is often disaspirated, as in

1.2 (Plate V), visaudya = *visodhya*,

1.4 (Plate V), sadarane = *samdharani*;

but equally often aspiration is retained, as in

II. 6, 9, 10 (Plate V), adhesthana = *adhithana*

I.II (Plate V), dharmaya = *dharmaya*

1.14 (Plate V), vaidyadhara = *vidyadhara*,

specially when *dh* stands for Skt, *ddh* as in

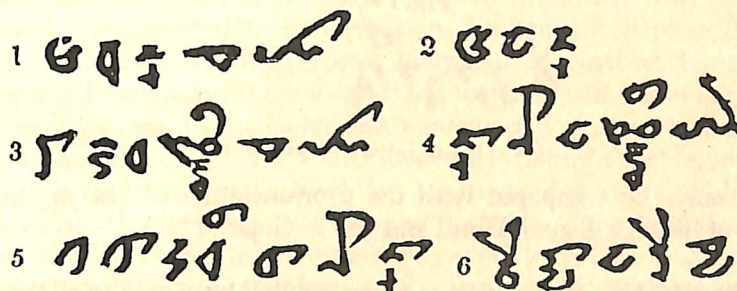
II. 3, 5, 7 (Plate V), visudhe = *visuddhe*

1.9 (Plate V), budha ... sudhe = *buddhi .. suddhi*

1.10 (Plate V), sadhama = *siddham*

On the other hand, occasionally *dh* is introduced in the place of *d*, e.g.,

Fig.III



1.50 (Fig. III, 1) udhaka-baya = *udyaka-bhaya*.

1.51 (Fig. III, 3) raja-dhandi-baya = *raja-dandi-bhaya*

1.134 (Fig. III, 5) gaga-nadhi-valaka = *gamga-nadi-valuka*

Altogether the treatment of aspiration in the case of *d* and *dh* appears to be very capricious; thus we have, e.g.,

1.73 (Fig. III, 6), vaidyadaraibya = *vidyadhardebhyah*

1.85 (Fig. III, 4) kala-dandiye = *kala-dandine*

1.04 (Fig. III, 2) udaka = *udaka*.

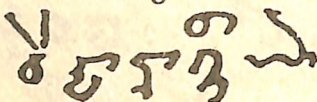
Of the dissociation of aspiration we have an example in 1.I, *sadhahama* for *siddham*, where one would rather expect *sadaham*, to represent the usual spelling *sadham*.

The Dharani illustrates also some other curiosities of spelling in the southern unknown language of Eastern Turkestan previously noticed, such as the substitution of *e*, *a* and *au* and *i*, *u* and *o* respective. Thus, *i* occurs eight times in the 23 lines shown in Pl. V., viz. 1.5. *usni* and *rasmi*; 1.7 *visudhi* and *samayadhi*; 1.8, *parasudhi* and *budha-sudhi*; 1.10 *hradayadhi*; 1.17, *adhimuhanta*. In some

cases the writing is not sufficiently distinct; e.g., 1.8 kauti or kauti; 1.20, draindi or draindi. etc. Generally long *i* takes its place, as in 1.5, vijaya-visudhe (= *vijaya-visuddhe*), etc.; but occasionally *e*, as in II. 6, 9, 10 adhesthanadhesthanta (= *adisthanadhisthita*), or *ai*, as in I.I, visaistya (= *visistaya*); 1.3, abasaicantu (= *abhisimcatu*); 1.8, vaisphutinta (= *visphutita*); 1.14, saidha-vaidyadha (= *siddha-vidyadhara*); 1.15, Aidrayi (= *Indraya*). Not uncommonly it is represented by *a*, as in II. 1.7, pranta (= *prati*); 1.15, Umapanta (= *Umapati*), etc., exceptionally also by *a* or *au*, as in 1.6, adhesthanta, and 1.10, adhesthaunta (= *adhisthita*). Again, *o* never occurs at all; we have, e.g., regularly namau and auma (= *namo and om*); 1.8, kauti (= *koti*), etc.; and in 1.1 even ntrailekyantaapparently represents a barbarous Sanskrit *trailokita* (for *trailokya*). Again, *a* takes the place of *u* in II. 11, 21, 22, badhaya (= *buddhya*), and occasionally of *o*, as in II. 4.5, sadiya (= *sodhaya*), and, as above noted, even of *i*. But occasionally *u* is represented also by *u* or *au*, as in II. 8, 9, budha (= *buddha*), II. 18, 19, kulaya (= *kulaya*); or II. 11, 21, baudhya (= *buddhya*), 1.15, Raudraya (*Rudraya*).

A noticeable curiosity is the spelling *gn* for Skt. *jn*, as shown below.

Fig. IV



1. 113, vāḍyā-rāḡṇīyo = vīḍyā-rājñīyo.

This may be compared with the pronunciation of Skt. *jn* in the vernaculars of India, e.g. *gy* in Hindi and *gny* in Gujarati.

Finally, attention may be drawn to the peculiar form of *kh* in all the rolls, and of *bh* in Roll 0046. The more original form of *kh* may still be seen in the syllables *khu* and *khu*. Both forms of *kh* occur in the Dharani, but *bh*, as already observed, never occurs but twice, and in those cases it is the ordinary form of *bh* (Fig. I, 1.2, as in Pl. V, 1.18, *bhagavante*).

When I published, in the October number of the Journal for 1910, the extracts from the two "bilingual" texts, I had not yet seen the rolls. The information of the latter on the phonetics of the southern unknown language of Eastern Tukestan is borne out to a considerable extent, though not altogether, by those two texts. Thus the pronunciation *nt* for *t* is illustrated by the pronouns *nta*, *ntyē*, *ntina*, etc., the nouns *ntira-jsa*, *pantara*, *bisapiramanta*; the verbs *paraunta*, *untaipastisa*, etc. *Per contra* the spelling of the conjuncts *tv* and *st* (without the nasal) is illustrated by the words *baudhisatva*, *gyasta*, *mista*, *dasta*, etc. On the other hand, in certain words, *t* is preserved, where one would expect *nt*, as e.g. in *napatata* (for *napantanta*?). The nasalization of *d* (as *nd*) is entirely absent, e.g., in *yudai*, *hamda-dana*, *bedami*, etc. What the true explanation of this discrepancy may be has yet to be ascertained. Further research among the

manuscript treasures, brought back by Dr. Stein from his recent tour of exploration, may furnish us with the answer. In the meanwhile I suspect that the discrepancy may be due to the fact that the rolls were inscribed by natives of Eastern Turkestan, who wrote exactly as they spoke, while the translations from the Sanskrit which we have in the "bilingual" texts were written by "pandits" men from India, who wrote under the spell of Sanskrit phonetics rather than Eastern Tukestani, a suggestion which is supported by the fact that the Eastern Turkestani "bilingual" texts are written in the upright Indian Gupta characters, while the rolls are inscribed in the peculiar Eastern Turkestani "cursive" script. There is also another possibility viz. that of clerical errors. For example, the word (above referred to) which I have transcribed *napatata* (JRAS., 1910, p. 1286, 1.5), is transcribed *napanata* from another manuscript by Professor Leumann (JGOS., lxii, p. 107, 1.32). Both transcriptions, as such, are undoubtedly correct, but obviously the original spellings cannot both be correct; there must be a scribal error in one of the two manuscripts. The graphic signs for *n* and *t*, in the upright Gupta script as current in Eastern Turkestan, are, in some manuscripts, rather difficult to distinguish. They are so in the manuscript fragment (Dr. Stein's Ancient Khotan, vol., ii, pl. cx., D. iii, 1, obv. of fol. 8, 1.2) from which Professor Leumann transcribed. His transcription I believe to be correct; yet the *n* and *t* are so nearly alike that the real reading might be *napanana*. In the *Vajracchedika* manuscripts, from which my transcription was made, the signs for *n* and *t* are easily distinguishable, for *t* is written with a very elongated left limb, while *n* has two short and equal limbs.³⁰ There can be no doubt, therefore, that the reading of the *Vajracchedika* manuscript as it now stands, is correctly represented by *napatata*. Yet, after all, there might be a clerical error, and the true form of the word might be *napanana*; and if that were so, there would be no violation of the rule that *t* becomes *nt* in Eastern Turkestani.

Some confirmation of the view above expressed is afforded by the fact that the two folios 7 and 8 of the *Aparimitayuh Sutra*, which are written in "cursive" character (of a rather slovenly kind), absolutely agree with the Dharani and alphabetic and syllabic tables of the rolls with respect to the spelling *nt*. There is also much agreement with reference to the treatment of the vowels. The main difference from the Dharani is in respect of the aspirate *bh*, which is regularly preserved, as in the tables. All the other folios of the manuscript are written in well-formed Indian Gupta characters, and exhibit all the peculiarities of the *Vajracchedika* manuscript. The two folios 7 and 8 were evidently added subsequently by a native of Eastern Turkestan in order to supply a lacuna. They are shown in Plate VI, and read as follows, Sanskrit equivalents being added occasionally in bracketed italics :-

[Fol. 7a, 1.1] samamdaganta (*samudgate*) subhava vamsude mahaniyam paramvare svaha: nti
va pa nca spam ra (nca)³¹ cai sna na yu [1.2] nta ja sna be ysa ham mya a-ysmum-ja ha mye bi ja snta
ntu Aparamintayam suntra (*Aparimitauah sutra*) hvamda : namau bhagavante aparam [1.3] mintayu

jnamnana suvanaiscinta ntejam (*suviniscitatejo*) rajayam ntathagintayam (*tathagataya*) rahente samyam-sabaudayam ntadyetha [1.4] auma sarva saskari pasumde (*sarva samskara parisuddhe*) darmante gagamne (*gagana*) samamdagamnta subhava sude mahaniya parvare.

[Fol. 7b, 1.1] svaha; nti va pa nca gaganayam gri nce sye jsa ham ma gi na yu nta ja sna be ysam ha mye a-ysmu-jsa ha [1.2] ha mye bi ja snta nta apamramintayam suntra hvada namau³² bhagavante aparamintayu jnamna suvanai [1.3] scanta ntejayam ntathagantayam rahenta samyam sabaudhyam ntadyetha auma sava skara pasude: [1.4] dharymanta gagana sammamdagantam subhava vasude mahaniya parvare svaha:

[Fol. 8a, 1.1] kam ma sa ha ma ve cam ntu a apamramintayamsuntra pi ri ntye ja stam na jsi na samsamli pa skya sta u kha [1.2] ysde: namau³² bhagavante aparimintayam javanma suvamnascanta ntejaya rajayam ntathagantayu [1.3] rahente samya sambaudhayam ntadyetha auma saskara pasuade darmante gagana sammamda gagana subhava [1.4] vasuade mahaniyam parvare svaha

[Fol. 8b, 1.1] kau ma sa ham ma ve nca ntu aparamantayam suntra pi ye; ntu na da jhsa ve us na bri yva [1.2] nam ntraisu u na ha sda a ha ksa;

* * * * *

In order to complete the present preliminary account of the rolls, I may add a few interesting particulars of a different kind.

I. Four of the rolls contain dated statements. Thus at the bottom of the back of Roll Ch. 0042 there are six or seven very brief entries, one of which gives the following date, three times repeated :-

isi silya (so twice, but once asa salaya) hadyaja maste ksauysimya hade (rabici)
i.e. "in the first year in the hadyaja month, on the sixth (or sixteenth?) day". Signature in oval.

Again the back of Roll Ch. 0048 is inscribed with a Buddhist text in seventy-one lines, which begins with the following date :-

ssa slyaya cuvija maste namai hada
i.e. the sixth year, the cuvija month, the ninth day".

Again, on the back of Roll Ch. cvi, 001, there is some text, which begins with the following date :-

madla? salya cvavaja masti bistimye hadai
i.e. "in the madala year, the cvavaja month, the twentieth day."

Again, among Dr. Stein's manuscripts there is a gigantic roll, about 70 feet long, entirely covered on one side with 1,108 lines of writing. On it there occur the following four dates :-

- (1) on ll. 196-7, sahaica salya puhye masti padauyse ³³ hadai ardra naksantra
i.e. "in the sahaica year, the fifth month, the first day, the ardra lunar asterism."
- (2) l. 846 si suntri puhye³³ masti 20 mye hadai
i.e. "this sutra, in the fifth month, the 20th day".
- (3) l. 1058, sahaici salya nauymye masti puhye hadai
i.e. "in the sahaici year, the ninth month, the fifth day".
- (4) l. 1102, sahaici salya dasamye maste 8 hadai purva-bhadra naksatri
i.e. "in the sahaici year, the tenth month, the 8th day, the purva-bhadrapada lunar asterism".

In the foregoing series of dates we have the mention of the following two months, (1) Hadyaja, (2) Cvavaja or Cuvija. The names of other nine

months are quoted in my "Report on the British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia", pt. ii, p. 35 (Extra Number 1 to JASB., vol. lxx, pt. i, 1901), and shown there in pls. ii. 6; vi; and vii, 1,2 (see also JASB., vol. lxxvi, pl. v). They are (1) Skarhvari or Skarihvari, (2) Cvabhaja or Cvubhaja, (3) Munamja, (4) Khahsaja or Khahasa, (5) Hamdyahja, (6) Nahaja or Naha (7) Jeri, (8) Kaja (9) Panija (or Manija)³⁴ The names of three months are mutilated, viz (10).. khaja or caja, (11) . i. ija. (12). varaja. As the names hadyaja and hamdyaja, and the names cvavaja (or cuvija) and cvabhaja (cvuabhaja) are evidently identical respectively, we thus have the names of twelve months, nine complete and three mutilated. The months in the four dates of the gigantic roll are not names, but numbered, viz *puhya* or *puhya*, fifth; *naumya*, ninth; and *dasamya*, tenth. Among the names Skarhvari is clearly identical with the old Persin Ksatravairya, and the modern Persian Shahrivar; but none of the others has as yet been equated. The days (*hada*) in the dates are always indicated by numbers; so also the years (*slaya*, modern Persina *sal*). The term *isi*, or *asa*, in the date of Roll Ch. 0042 I take to be connected with *sau*, one (see JRAS for 1910, p. 1297, note 10), and *ssa* to be six; but *sahaica* and *madala* (the reading is not quite certain I cannot explain for the present. Two *naksatras*, or lunar asterisms, are mentioned in the date of the gigantic roll, viz. *ardra* and *purva-bhadrpada*.

II. The gigantic roll, above referred to, is one of the proceeds from the Temple library of Tun-huang. It is made of tough buff-coloured paper, and measures in its present condition, 70 ft. 10 in. by 11 ½ inches, but about 3 or 4 inches are torn off at the top. The interior side is entirely covered with 1, 108 lines of writing. The exterior side is blank with the exception of a parti-coloured figure at the top. This figure consists of two geese standing on two open lotuses, facing each other and holding in their bills flowering tendrils. The whole of the writing is in fair upright Gupta script, excepting three interspersed paragraphs which are written in "cursive" Gupta characters. The contents are as follows :-

II.1-197 are a long Dharani, in corrupt Sanskrit named, in II. 193-4, *tathagatausnisa sidhamtapatram nammaparajita mahapratya mahapratyagira* i.e. Skt. *tathagatosnisa-sitata-patram nama aparajita mahapratyangira*. A manuscript of this Dharani is in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society, No., 77 in its Catalogue. Another is described in R. Mitra's *Catalogue of Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, No. B, 46, p. 227. It is practically identical with the long Dharani, in "cursive" Gupta script, on the back of Roll Ch. 0041, but the opening passage, down to the middle of 1.5 (*usni vijaya visudhe*), is torn away. It ends with the first of the four dates above quoted. Its name is spelled variously *sitatapatra*, or white umbrella, in 1. 178, or *sitamtapatra* in II 91, 158, 169, or *setamtapatra* in 1. 190, or *satamtapatra* in 1. 136, or *sidhamtapatra* (apparently Skt. *siddh-atapatra*) in II. 58, 72, 193, or *sudhamtapatri* (Skt. *suddh-atapatra*) in 1. 841.

II. 198-220 are a story of the communication of the 1,000 names of Buddha, in the southern unknown language, and in upright Gupta script.

II. 221-728 contain the enumeration of the 1,000 names, in corrupt

Sanskrit and upright Gupta script. At the end, however, in 1,728, there are the numeral figures for 1,000 and 5 (i.e. 1,005), though the names actually enumerated are only 1,000.

II. 728-754 give the text of the Buddha pitai bhadra-kalpya-sutra, i.e. Skt. *bhadra-kalpa-sutra*, followed in

II. 755-840 by an enumeration of classes of superhuman beings (such as 12 koti of Ratnottama, 18 koti of Ratnavabhasa, etc.); the whole in the southern unknown language and in upright Gupta script.

II. 841-8 contain a short statement with reference to the preceding two texts (the *sitatapatra* and the *bhadra-kalpa* with its enumeration), including the second date previously mentioned; the whole in the southern unknown language and in cursive Gupta script.

II. 848-1058 give the text of *Sumukha-nama-mahayana-sutra* in the southern unknown language and in upright Gupta script.

II. 1058-60 contain a statement referring to the preceding (third) text, with the third, above-quoted date, in the southern unknown language and cursive Gupta script.

II. 1060-1100 practically repeat the enumeration of classes of superhuman beings which was given in II.755-840, in the same language and script.

II. 1100-5 contain a statement referring to the preceding enumeration, nearly alike to that in II. 841 ff., with the fourth above-quoted date, also in the southern unknown language and cursive script.

II. 1106-8 conclude with a few salutations to *Ratnatraya*, etc., in corrupt Sanskrit language and in upright Gupta script.

As a curiosity it may be noted that the frequently occurring term *gyasta* is once (1.841) spelt *jasta*, while in other places it has the usual spelling *gyasta*.

III. On the upper portion (about 5 feet) of the back of Roll Ch. 0044, which measures 23 ft. 10 in by 10 inches, there are seventy lines of writing in cursive Gupta script and in corrupt Sanskrit language. They contain the text of the *Kausaki Prajnaparamita*, the end of which may be compared with the ending of the *Prajnaparamita-hrdaya-sutra*, printed in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, vol. i, pt. iii, pp. 50, 54, and in R. Mitra's Catalogue of Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, No. A, 15, p. 192. It runs as follows the Sanskrit version being in italics:

Namah parajnapa [1.66] ramintayai ntadyatha gante gante paragante
Namah prajnaparamitayai tadyatha gate gate paragata
 parasagante baudhi svaha [1.67] idam avaucant bhagavamn amtamana
parasamgate bodhi svaha | idam avocat bhagavan atmamana
 ayusma Saraputra Sakrau devam [1.68] nam idra nte ca baudhisatva
ayunsman Sariputra Sakro devanam indrah te ca bodhisatva
 mahasatva sa ca sarvavanti parsa sa-de [1.69] va gamddinrva-manums-
mahasutva sa ca savavati parsat sadeva gandharva-manusy-
 asumras ca lokau bhagavantau bhasintam abhyanamda | kausaki [1.70]
asuras ca loko bhagavato bhasitam abhyanandan | kausaki

namma prajna paraminta samapnta ||
 nama prajnaparamita samapta ||

Notice the invariable substitution of *nt* for *t*.

IV. Roll Ch. 0048 is one of the smallest. It measures only 7 ft. 11 in. by 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Its back bears seventy-one lines of writing in the southern unknown language and in exceedingly crude cursive Gupta script. The initial thirteen lines are introductory prose, and are followed on ll. 14-71 by a Buddhist story which opens in the conventional way, except that here the opening statement is not in the usual prose, but in verse (one and a half), as follows :-

[1.14] Siddham Nta pyusti sau bam de baysi Sravasti ksiri sa
 mum de. jintirispuriudamna. pharamkye [1.15] parsijsa
 hansa. 1. Dhamri sai nava misti. Saripuntra sthiri ntu kam la.

After these verses the story proceeds in prose. In the prose portion the word *baysi* appears several times spelled *biysi*. Perhaps the versified opening may hereafter lead to the identification of the Sanskrit version of the story.

V. Roll Ch. cvi, 001, which is only a sheet of thick, tough, dun-coloured paper, measuring 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 inches, is remarkable also on account of being inscribed, not in Chinese, but in Tibetan. The obverse, or what appears to be the principal side, is covered entirely with thirty-one lines of writing in extremely crude cursive Gupta script, and in the southern unknown language. It opens with the date, above quoted, and is continued on the reverse side with eight lines of similar writing. This is followed by fifteen lines of fair writing in Tibetan script and apparently Tibetan language, which runs, however, in the opposite direction to the cursive Gupta inscribed above it. Below this again, and finishing the reverse side, there is another Tibetan inscription of nine lines, which again runs in the opposite direction to the Tibetan above it, and therefore in the same direction as the cursive Gupta inscription at the top of the reverse side.

On the obverse side, on the eight and ninth lines from the bottom, there is a cancelment of eleven syllables (*aksara*), of the cursive writing (crossed through), and below is written interlinearly, in Tibetan script, *manana* with an *unintelligible* mark after it. On the same side, on the ninth line from the top, there is what looks like the indication of a fresh paragraph in the cursive writing which here begins with *um*, and below it is written, interlinearly, *am* (or *ama*) in Tibetan. The corrections in Tibetan seem to indicate the Tibetan inscription on the sheet was made at a date subsequent to the inscription in cursive script. If that be so, and if the Tibetan inscription contain a date (which I have not been able to make out), it may furnish a key to the identification of the era and the system of dating of the documents in cursive script.

VI. Towards the end of the *Aparajita Pratyangira Dharani* there occurs a

curious clause enumerating the different kinds of writing material which was in use at that period of time. The clause runs as follows :-

- (1) Roll ch. 0041, II. 125 ff., ya ima ntathagantausnisa-saintantapantra-
- (2) Gigantic Roll, II. 158 ff., ya imamtathagatausnisam sitamtapatram
- (3) Hodgson, No. 77, fol. 17 b -- ima tatahagatosnisa sitatapatra
- (4) Sanskrit: ya imam tathagatosnisa sitatapatra-
- (1) nama-parajanta pratyagara lakhatva buvyu pantrai va vastre va
- (2) namna parajitam pratyamgira likhit va bhuja patre va vastre va
- (3) namaparajita pratyamgira likhitva bhurja-patre va vastre va
- (4) namam aparajitam pratyangiram likhitva bhurja-patre va vastre va
- (1) kalke va kayagante va karyaagante va likhatva dhariyasyante |
- (2) kalke va kayagate va kanthagate va likhitva dharayesyate |
- (3) bhuvatkare va kayagam va kathegata va krtva dharayisyamvti |
- (4) kalke va kayegate va kantha-gatam va krtva dharayisyati |
- (1) ntasya yava jiva vasa na kramasiyante etc.
- (2) tasya yiva-jivam visam na kramesyate etc.
- (3) tasya yavaj jivam vise na kramisyamti etc.
- (4) tasya yavaj jivam visam na kramisyati etc.

i.e. "who having written this powerful Pratyangira (Dharani) named the white sunshade of the Tahtagatae's crown either on birch bark, or on cloth, or on paste, or on paper, or having committed it to memory, makes use of it; him throughout life no poison will injure", etc.

This clause names four kinds of writing material -

(1) *bhurja-patra* or birch-bark, (2) *vastra* or cloth, (3) *kalka* or paste, and (4) *kayagata* or paper. There can be no question about the identity of the words for birch-bark and cloth. The form *buvyu*, if the reading is correct, would seem to be the name of the birch in the southern unknown language. As to *kayagata* or *kayaganta*, it is clearly identical with the Arabic word *kaghadh*, or, as it is pronounced in India, *Kaghas* (Urdu) or *kagad* (Hindi). This word, as I have shown in this Journal for 1903, p. 669, on the authority of Professor Karabacek, is a mere loan-word in Arabic, into which it was introduced from the Chinese *kok-dz* through Eastern Turkestan, in the middle of the eight century. Dr. Stein's rolls would show that, by the natives of Eastern Turkestan, the Chinese word was pronounced *kayaganta* (or *kaganta*, p. 477); and in that case the Arabic pronunciation of it, as *kaghadh*, might throw light on how the Eastern Turkestanis pronounced their *kayaganta*. Of *Kalka* I am unable to make anything, unless it may be an error for *valka*, and unless the latter may signify skin or parchment. The ordinary meaning of the word is "paste" (e.g., made of powdered dry, or crushed fresh drugs, in medicine). Might it here refer to mortar, or beton, which when plastered on a wall would make an inscribable surface? The reading *bhuvatkare* (*bhuvalkale*?) of the Hodgson MS is equally puzzling. The reference of the fifth alternative to memorizing seems clear from its version in the gigantic roll and the Hodgson MS. That version, however, is the *lectio facillior*, and the version in Roll 0041 seems to point rather to a fifth kind of writing material, but what that material might be I am unable to suggest. It seems possible that the name of paper should be *kaganta* or *kagata*, the existing reading *kaya-ganta*, or *kaya-gata*, lit. "gone into the body", being erroneously due

to the following phrase *kantha-gata*, or "gone into the throat", the well-known Sanskrit idiom for 'committed to memory'.

Notes And References

1. They present, however, in no case anything bilingual; so I am informed by Dr. Stein, who has had the Chinese writing examined by M. Chavannes.
2. e.g. in the Weber MSS., and in Dr. Stein's palm-leaf MS. from Miran, of the third or fourth century A.D.
3. According to the testimony of Chinese pilgrims of the sixth and seventh centuries, the script of Khotan and its district was that of the Brahmans. This, however, may, and probably does, refer to the upright Gupta script, which was current in those parts of Eastern Turkestan alongside of the "cursive" Gupta. See Dr. Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, vol.i, p. 90 where the authorities are quoted.
4. There has been some dispute as to the precised meaning of the Chinese word *chang*, whether it means "table" (Legge) or "section" (Julien) or "chapter" (Watters) or "compositions" (Takakusu). The evidence of the rolls supports the meaning "sections". But the translation "table", if not literal, is at least more suggestive of what the thing really was.
5. The role is in a vey soiled condition, and has not come out in the photograph as clearly as one could wish.
6. Bracketed letters are badly written and cancelled.
7. See n. 6
8. *co* had originally been written *cu*; afterwards *u* was crossed through, and *o* substituted.
9. After the *siddham-chang* there comes a short text, in 12 lines, at present not intelligable, which, however, is written again in fairly good cursive Gupta characters.
10. On a still smaller fragment of the same roll, measuring only 6 by 4 inches, the commencement of a syllabary in precisely the same peculiar order is repeated, viz., *ka, va ya, kha, ca, la*.
11. In this connection it may be worth noting that, as Dr. Waddell points out in his *Buddhism in Tibet*, p.353, in Japanese Skt. *vaiburya* becomes *binzura*. The southern unknown language has *vaindarya* (see pl. v, 1.23 of the Dharani on Roll Ch. 0041).
12. Anec. Oxon. om. bracketed words.
13. See n. 6
14. Apparently wrong for *vara-vacane*.
15. The double dot and single dot appear to be marks of inter punctuation: they do not signify the *visarga* and *anusvara* respectively.
16. Note the peculiar serpentine mark under *h* in ll. 4,15,17. It seems to correspond to the semicircular mark which is found in the upright Gupta script.

17. Wrong for usnisa.
18. See n. 6
19. See n. 12
20. The bracketed passage is not found in the Hodgson MS., No. 77. Instead, it has usual conventional opening: *evam maya srutam kasmir samaye bhagavan devesta-trayastrmsesu viharati sma l sadharmayam deva-sabhayam mahata bhiksu-samghena mahata bodhisattva-samghena Sakrena devanam Indrena sardham ll.*
21. *na* is inserted below the line; and the insertion is marked by a cross above the line.
22. The Hodgson MS., No. 77, has *sapayudhanam namo sayanugraha°*
23. Hodgson MS., No. 77., om. the bracketed words.
24. See n 6.
25. See n. 16.
26. Wrong for *Narayanaya*.
27. Hodgson MS. Reads *vidrapana* for *viksepana*.
28. The full reading of the Hodgson MS., No. 77, is : *adhimukatika kasmira-mahasmasama*. The Eastern Turkistani *adhimuhanta* = Skt. *adhimukta*, with^o *hanta* for *kata* = *kta*.
29. The Hodgson MS., No. 77, reads *vandita-sahitaya* for *namaskrtaya*.
30. The Hodgson MS., No. 77, omits the bracketed final three clauses. Dr. Stein's gigantic roll omits the first and second clauses, but it has the third clause refering to *bhaisajya-guro*.
31. Compare, e. g, *ta* and *na*, sixth and third letters from the right, on 1.3 of fol. 3 rev. on the accompanying plate; or *ti* and *ni*, third and fourth letters from the left, on 1.2 of fol. 32 obv.
32. Apparently cancelled.
33. The original text seems to read *namam*, but the apparent *am* is merely a very crudely formed cursive *au*.
34. See Professor Leumann's remarks in JGOS., vol. lxii, p.87.

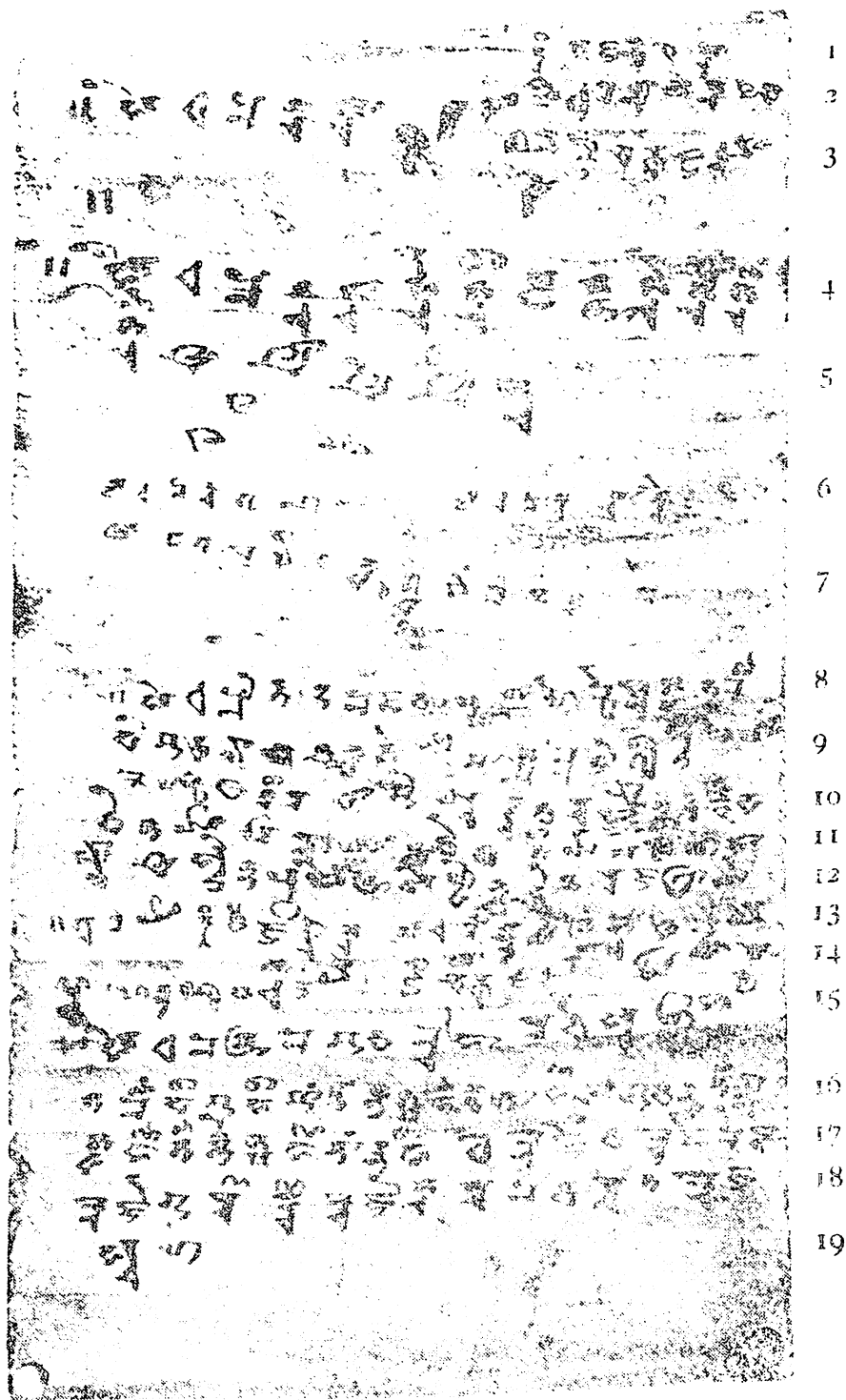
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FOL 7 OBVERSE

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FOL. 8 OBVERSE

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**ABSTRACTS
AND
REVIEWS**

Books, manuscripts and historical documents pertaining to Central Asia & kashmir are invited for review. Abstracts of these may also qualify for inclusion in this Journal.

KASHMIR AND CENTRAL ASIA

By P.N.K. Bamzai, Life and Light Publications, New Delhi, 1980.

In recent years the scholars of Kashmir have evinced growing interest in highlighting the mutual relations between Kashmir and Central Asia and the consequent influence they exercised upon each other's life and conditions. This trend in Kashmiri scholarship is the result of a large body of evidence, that has been brought to light by the archaeologists, archaeobotanists, anthropologists, linguists, historians and folklorists, testifying Kashmir's intimate political, economic and cultural contacts with Central Asia since the hoary past. The archaeological and literary evidence is further buttressed by the socio-cultural vestiges of the past societies of Central Asia and Kashmir as they present close affinity with one another. One would also like to add that the Kashmiri scholars' interest in Central Asian history is not fortuitous as because of the geographical proximity of Kashmir and Central Asia, the developments in Central Asia have always had a bearing upon Kashmir.

While a beginning has been made by the Centre of Central Asian Studies, Kashmir University, towards making an indepth study of the subject and a few seminal research articles have been produced under its auspices, there is not, however, a single authentic book that would give a systematic, reliable and interpretative account about the relations between Kashmir and Central Asia and the changes they underwent as a result of give and take. Therefore, a beginner in the field is compelled to rely on the book under review, the only available work claiming to have traced the relations between Kashmir and Central Asia since the dawn of human settlements in Kashmir, for insights.

A cursory glance over the pages of the book no doubt helps a beginner in gaining an idea about the intimate relations that existed between Kashmir and Central Asia since times immemorial but this work is not based on "intensive and sustained research into the historical data," nor does it for the first time embrace a study of the geographical, political and cultural relations between Kashmir and Central Asia from historic times" as claimed by the author (VIII). Only the title is new to the historical literature on Kashmir and Central Asia. What is, however, most unfortunate is that the author has not even consulted all those modern works on Kashmir and Central Asia which have a bearing on the subject. And even the works consulted by him have not been properly utilized. For example while the author has not carefully gone through Muhibbul Hasan's *'Kashmir under the Sultants'* which is sufficiently borne out by his failure to tap the information contained in this work, he has not even consulted such important works on the subject as A.Q. Rafiqi's *'Sufism in*

Kashmir' or Ishaq Khan's article 'Persian Influence on Kashmir! Therefore, it is no wonder to see the book extremely superficial both in content and substance. Many works which he has relied upon are not historical works as they are not based on primary sources. It is not surprising to find him attributing the revival of shawl industry to one Nagz Beg of Khokhand, though no contemporary source subscribes to this view. Similarly he credits Mirza Haider Daughlat for introducing tea in Kashmir, but this is neither borne out by Mirza Haider's own work, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, nor by any other contemporary source.

Though it is abundantly clear that the material of the book is borrowed from some secondary works, the author seems to cover up this weakness. Or else how should one explain his failure to cite the sources. It is very rarely that he acknowledges the works, he has drawn from.

Moreso, the work demonstrates the author's absolute lack of knowledge of historical methodology. Ignoring the basic fact that he has no regard for contemporary sources, nor does he sift and scrutinize the data, leave alone interpreting it, the author even fails to give the account in chronological sequence. Take for example, the account on 'Imports and Exports'. Instead of tracing the history of imports and exports between Kashmir and Central Asia, the author gives an account which pertains to 19th and 20th Century Kashmir. In this way a beginner in the field is misled into believing that a given import or export formed an article of trade throughout the history of Kashmir. Sometimes he makes much mess by putting the cart before the horse. For instance, instead of discussing the import of shawl, wool in chronological order, he first mentions the account that pertains to twentieth century and then gives the details relevant for 16th Century.

Not unoften the author confounds the confusion by needless repetitions. For example, after discussing the imports and exports, he repeats the account under a new title 'Trade During Last 400 Years' conveying an impression that the account of imports and exports contained in the preceding pages relates to pre-16th century era, though the fact is that in the preceding pages, too, the author gives the information that pertains to post 17th century period and here he has simply given an additional information about the same period.

Instead of giving a connected and systematic account the author has jumbled up varied details only to confuse the reader. In the chapter 'Imperialist Rivalries in Central Asia' the author gives one page introductory note on "Russian Occupation of Central Asia" and leaves the account there to discuss the history of Afghanistan until 1819. Then he takes up Tibet, but curiously enough under this heading, he discusses the political history of Chinese

Turkistan dismissing the history of Tibet in a page or two. Then he again takes up Tibet under a new heading but leaves it abruptly at 1907. He resumes the narrative on Afghanistan and abandons it with Russo-Afghan Boundary Convention of 1881. Then he takes up the history of Pamirs and leaves it with Anglo-Russian Convention 1895. In a separate chapter 'The Two World Wars and After' he resumes the history of these territories. It may be mentioned that if at all the author intended to discuss the political developments, of different territories of Central Asia, which probably seems uncalled for given the title of the book, the proper course was to take the different territories of Central Asia one by one to give a comprehensive account of each one of them in one going from ancient to modern times without making a mess of things by unnecessary interruptions.

The chapter 'Cultural Relations' creates a genuine curiosity among the readers for learning something revealing about this vital aspects of Kashmir and Central Asia. But it is vain to find anything except a few passing references about the transmission of Sanskrit and Buddhism from Kashmir to Central Asia. This chapter, on the other hand, gives details about the nature of Kashmiri Buddhism and a brief account about Naga Worship. Here he also cares little to scrutinize the data. For example, about the supposed Kashmiri origin of Naga worship and its introduction into Central Asia, he states, "That this form of worship may have been carried to Central Asia and Tibet and thence to China from Kashmir and other parts of India is a theory that has many adherents". Without accepting or challenging this assertion he refers to an opposite view "The Naga influence is generally believed to be the origin of the various dragon and snake motifs in Chinese woodcarving, metal work and embroidery" and leaves it there. Who are the adherents of the former and the latter views, and which one seems more tenable, Bamzai does not say anything. Curiously enough it is in the following chapters

"Kashmiri Missionaries in Central Asia" and "Evangelization of Tibet" that one finds the account which should have otherwise been discussed in the chapter "Cultural Relations". At the same time it may not be beside the point to mention here that language and religion do not alone constitute such vast term-culture.

The Chapter "Advent of Islam into Kashmir" gives a very superficial and not unoften misleading information. The author has not even consulted the modern works on the subject, let alone the contemporary sources. One is also surprised to find repeated mention of such erroneous terms like "Muhammadanism".

The pattern of chapterization of the book is not historically sequential. Besides the titles of many chapters are ambiguous.

Perhaps the chapter "Commercial Relations should have been preceded by the chapter political contacts (which he names as A Historical Outline). After all it was the political condition of Kashmir and Central Asia and the friendly or otherwise relations between the two that determined the commercial and cultural contacts between them.

The titles like "Changiz Khan to Vasco da Gama" and "The two World Wars and After" are totally vague and ambiguous. One wonders what exactly the author has written in these chapters. Does he want to discuss the political relations between Kashmir and Central Asia during different phases after the fall of Hindu rule, with which he concludes "A Historical Outline" or does he want to discuss individually the political development of different Central Asian territories including Kashmir. It is not clear. Probably he intends both, but does not do justice with either. By doing so he only confuses the reader. The details given in 8th, 9th and 10th chapters could be clubbed together under the heading of the 7th chapter, "The Cultural Relations."

It is unfortunate that Bamzai had to name the freedom struggle of the Kashmiri's which took up the slope in the early thirties of the present century as "British Engineered agitation" and thus fails to rise above the personal likes & dislikes. He thus does not face squarely the political events which Kashmir witnessed after 1947 and takes one sided view of the events that took place in 1953.

To sum there is an urgent need to write a comprehensive and authoritative general book on Relations between Kashmir and Central Asia, which the Centre of Central Asian Studies should give a primary attention given the basic purpose behind establishing this Centre. This book would ultimately open new vistas of research in the field.

By P.N.K. BAMZAI, Delhi - 1980

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» حضرت تیرخ داد و دھاک رحمتہ اللہ علیہ جوں لطیف بیابا کوٹ با تلقان چند سیر برادر مثل عارف
 باللہ حضرت خواجہ حسن قاری و خواجہ سخن قاری وغیرہ ہمارا آن طرف مراجعت فرمودند۔ باعث ایں بود کہ
 در کشمیر یعقوب چک کہ متعصب بود، پادشاہ شد و اکثر یہ عزیزاں ایذا رسانید۔ مرزا سید برہمت
 حقیر بیست۔ مرزا سید رند کور از جملہ خاص مریدان حضرت محبوب العالم مخدوم شیخ حمزہ بود و صاحب ولایت
 و قطب وقت بود و او چوں برہمت حق وصال یافت۔

کتاب ہدایت المخلصین اربع تک زیور طبع سے آراستہ نہیں ہوئی ہے اس کتاب کے قلمی نسخے
 کشمیر کے بعض کتب خانوں میں ملتے ہیں۔ راقم الحروف کی نظر میں اس کا بہترین مخطوط کتب خانہ کشمیر لبریری
 شعبۂ مخطوطات میں زیر شمارہ 497 محفوظ ہے۔ جس کی کتب محراب فضل ولد محمد مراد (غالباً بیشین قلم)
 نے چار ماہ رمضان المبارک 1131ھ میں مکمل کی ہے۔ یہ مخطوط خوش خط نستعلیق میں ہے۔ ہر صفحہ میں 8 اسطر
 ہیں اور اس کی جلد چمڑے کی ہے جو کہ نہایت بوسیدہ ہے۔ نسخے کے اوراق بھی ایک دوسرے سے جدا ہو چکے
 ہیں ہدایت المخلصین کا دوسرا نسخہ بھی مذکورہ کتب خانے میں زیر شمارہ 593 محفوظ ہے اس کے کل
 اوراق کی تعداد 274 ہے اور ناقص الآخر ہے اس نسخے کے ابتدائی دو ورق کسی دوسرے کا تلبہ نقل کئے ہیں۔

تالیف نمودہ“

ہدایت المخلصین نو آموز سالک کے لئے ہدایات سے پُر ایک دستاویز ہونے کے علاوہ ایک اہم تذکرہ بھی ہے اور تاریخی، ادبی اور لسانی افادیت کے لحاظ سے یہ کتاب اس دور کے اہم فارسی نثری آثار میں شمار کی جاسکتی ہے لیکن جہاں تک اس کتاب میں حلقہ کے متدرج حالات کا تعلق ہے۔ ان میں مصنف نے کثرت و کمالات اور طے زمان و مکان جیسے امور کی طرف اپنی توجہ حد سے زیادہ مبذول کی ہے۔ بعض نادین کے خیال میں بابا جیدر نے اس کتاب میں اپنے پیر و مرشد کے کثرت و کمالات کے بیان کرتے ہیں غلو اور اغراق سے کام لیا ہے۔

ہدایت المخلصین کا اسلوب نگارش اکبر اور جہانگیری دو میں کثیر میں تحریر کی جا چکی صوفیانہ تصنیفات کی طرح آسان اور عام فہم ہے اس کے جملے چھوٹے ہیں اور معلق اور ثقیل عربی و فارسی کے الفاظ کے استعمال کرنے سے مصنف نے اجتناب کیا ہے عبارات تھکارتینے والی نہیں بلکہ مصنف نے اپنے مذاق کے تحت نثر کی زیبائی با عبارات کے تفہیم و ادراک کی خاطر کبھی اپنی اور کبھی دوسرے منصوصات شعر کے اشعار بطور اسناد لائے ہیں مصنف نے کئی خاص موضوع یا مسئلے کو سمجھانے کے لئے ہدایت المخلصین میں جگہ جگہ قرآنی آیات، احادیث نبوی صلعم اور عربی کے اقوال و حکم سے بھی استفادہ کیا ہے۔

اگرچہ ان کی ہدایت المخلصین تصوف و عرفان سے متعلق تصنیف ہے اور ایسی کتاب میں سیاسی عنصر کا بہت کم دخل تھا لیکن پھر بھی اس کتاب میں اس زمانے کے سیاسی حالات اور ماحول سے متاثر ہو کر مصنف نے بعض اہم مکتبوں اور سیاسی واقعات کی طرف حقیقت اشارے کئے ہیں۔ اس لحاظ سے مذکورہ کتاب چکے دور اور ابتدائی مکتبوں کے سیاسی حالات کی بھی غمازی کرتی ہے ان سیاسی حالات میں غازی چک۔ حسین شاہ چک اور یعقوب شاہ چک جیسے حکمرانوں کی سٹیٹوں کی خلاف مذہبی پالیسی کو پہلا درجہ حاصل ہے غازی چک کے بارے میں مصنف نے لکھا ہے کہ وہ بے حد متعصب تھا۔ حسین شاہ چک کے بارے میں مندرجہ ذیل اقتباس ملاحظہ فرمائیے۔

”حسین شاہ بالذات چکے لود و در کثیر بملوک لواحی پادشاہی کردہ و بدین دینی ملت و مذہب گشتہ گشتہ و سخت متعصب در دین لجتین تو دلود۔ و بر دم مسلمانان و اہل سنت و جماعت تہا تہلی کل ادا نہ بود۔“
اس طرح بابا داؤد خاکی کی کثیر سے سبکوٹ مہاجرت کر چکے اور یعقوب شاہ چک کے سینوں پر ظلم و ستم کرنے کی طرف یوں اشارہ کیا ہے۔

بقول بابا حیدر میندی کے تئیں بھی لازمی ہے کہ فنا فی الشیخ کے مقام پر اپنے پیر طریقت کا عاشق اور متوالا ہے۔ پیر طریقت یا مرشد کامل کی نمائندہ ہوتی ہے کہ جس کا ظاہر شریعت محمدی صلعم سے آراستہ اور راہ طریقت میں مستقیم ہو اور اقلیم معرفت سے جس نے بادیہ حقیقت کی راہ لی ہو۔ پیر کامل کی ایک اور نشانی یہ بھی ہے کہ وہ نازک دنیا ہو کیوں کہ بقول بابا حیدر ترک دنیا سبب قرب حق تعالیٰ ہے اگر مرشد عالم ہو اور عامل نہ ہو تو دوزخ کی آگ جاہل کی برائیت اس پر مقدم ہے۔

ہدایت المخلصین کا پانچواں اور آخری باب 275 اور ان پر مشتمل ہے۔ اس باب میں بابا حیدر نے اپنے مرشد کامل حضرت مخدومؒ کے حالات اور ان کے کشف و کرامات و رزح کئے ہیں اس کے علاوہ بابا حیدر نے اس باب میں اپنے پیر طریقت کے اہم خلفاء کے حالات اور راہ سلوک میں ان کے مشاغل اور بعض کی تصنیفات کا تفصیلی جائزہ بھی پیش کیا ہے اس باب میں پڑھنے والے کو مصنف نے اپنے کشمیر کے معاصر صوفیوں، عارفوں اور مجددیوں کے احوال نہایت شرح و بسط کے ساتھ قلمبند کئے ہیں۔ اس لحاظ سے مذکورہ کتاب کا یہ باب اکبر اور چہانگیری دور میں کشمیر کے بعض فارسی عالموں فاضلوں اور ادیبوں کے احوال اور ان کی تصنیفات سے متعلق پہلے درجے کا ماحخذ قرار جاتا ہے۔ ان میں سے درج ذیل علماء صوفیاء اور مشائخ قابل ذکر ہیں۔

زین علی بابا داد و دھاک مولوی شیخ احمد جاہلی خواجہ حسن قاری خواجہ
اسحاق قاری مولانا یوسف تانت بابا علی ربیہ زین علی مانچو خواجہ میرم وغیرہ
ہدایت المخلصین کے بارے میں تذکرہ اولیاء کشمیر میں درج ہے کہ "بعض مورخ کہتے ہیں کہ مذکورہ کتاب ان کی (بابا حیدر) تصنیف نہیں ہے بلکہ پرگنہ زین بگہر کے گادو "نجر" کے بالوں نے (پیر) کا وہ فرقہ جن کا نسب سید نہیں) اپنی وراثت کے دعویٰ میں بابا علی کو حضرت مخدومؒ کا بھائی قرار دیتے کے لئے۔۔۔
ہدایت المخلصین لکھو اگر حضرت میر (بابا حیدر) کی طرف منسوب کی ہے اور بادشاہ اورنگ زیب کو پیش کی ہے اور قاضی خان نے ان کی طرف داری کر کے بالوں کی وراثت کو پایہ ثبوت تک پہنچا ہوا ہے۔
لیکن صاحب تذکرہ اولیاء نے کشمیر کا یہ قول حقیقت سے عاری ہے کیوں کہ بابا حیدر تنلیہ مولیٰ کے شاگرد اور معاصر تذکرہ نگار خواجہ میرم نے مراحت کے ساتھ بابا حیدر کی تصنیف کا ذکر اپنی تذکرہ المرشدین میں متغیر کیا ہے۔ بطور مثال مندرجہ ذیل عبارت ملاحظہ فرمائیے۔
پس اس پر در تصنیف حضرت شیخ داد و دھاک کہ در المریدین و میر شیخ حیدر تنلیہ مولیٰ کہ کتاب ہدایت المخلصین

اسی ذکر کی تلقین وہ اپنے مریدوں اور مخلصوں کو بھی کرتے ہیں۔ وہ ذکر یہ ہے ”اللہ الحاضر اللہ معشوق“ 24۔ اس کے علاوہ اس باب میں بابا جید رسالک کو مراقبہ کے طریقے سے بھی آشنا کرتے ہوئے لکھتے ہیں کہ رسالک کو مراقبہ سے قبل غسل یا طہارت کرنا چاہیے اور اپنے دل میں یہ نیت رکھنی چاہیے کہ فائدہ و توفیق کی خاطر اپنے جسم کو صاف کرنا ہے ممکن ہے کہ محبوب مطلق تے وجود کے دل میں جلوہ گر ہو سکے۔ اس کے بعد بابا جید رسالک کو اس ذکر کی تلقین کرتے ہیں۔ ”ہو المطلوب ہو المقصود“

جہاں تک ہدایت المخلصین کے جوئے باب کا تعلق ہے۔ یہ کچھ تین ابواب کے مقدمے میں مفصل نر ہے اور اس میں مصنف نے طریقت میں محبت، شوق، صلاح، تقویٰ اور تقویٰ کے بعض لغویات آموزہ رموز کو آشکارا کیا ہے اور ان اسرار و رموز میں کچھ تو ان کے پیر طریقت کے ارشادات پر مبنی ہیں مصنف نے اس باب میں عشق مجازی کو عشق حقیقی کا رتبہ تصور کرتے ہوئے لکھا ہے کہ درحقیقت محبت ایک ایسی خبر ہے جس سے کوئی خبر خالی نہیں۔ خواہ وہ مجازی رنگ میں ہو یا حقیقی صورت میں۔ کیوں کہ دنیا میں جو بھی شے قائم تھی یا ہوگی، وہ محبت کے بغیر نہیں ہو سکتی۔ پس ہر ایک خبر جس میں محبت جیسو شے ہوگی وہ شے ”شے مجازی“ ہوگی اور اس کی محبت مجازی قائم ہوگی۔ 27۔ لیکن سادوں کی محبت کا انحصار ان کی نیت پر ہوتا ہے۔ جیسے کہ اس حدیث مبارک میں آیا ہے ”انما الاعمال بالنیۃ“ لہذا عشق مجازی میں محض نیت پر انحصار ہوتا ہے۔ جہاں چہ ”المجاز قنطرہ الحقیقت“، عشق بازی میں بے حد ہونے کی ضرورت ہوتی ہے جو اسے مجاز سے حقیقت کی طرف راہنمائی کر سکے ورنہ ضلالت کے دلدل میں فنا ہو جانے کا خطرہ ہے۔ کیوں کہ محبت تک رسالک اپنے دل کو کدورت اور آکشیوں سے صاف نہیں کرتا۔ تب تک دل خدا کا مسکن نہیں بن سکتا اور معشوق حقیقی اس کے دل پر نظر نہیں ڈالتا۔ محبت مجازی میں اپنے وجود سے باخبر ہونا ممکن ہے لیکن عشق حقیقی میں نہ تو اپنی خبر ہوتی ہے اور نہ ماسوائے معشوق کی۔ یہ وہ مقام ہے جب معشوق خود عاشق ہے اور عاشق بھی معشوق۔ اور ریب عاشق معشوق کی وحدت سرائے وصال ہی ہیں داخل ہو جاتا ہے تو اسے جان کا خطرہ باقی نہیں رہتا بلکہ جو کچھ اسے نظر آتا ہے وہ وصال ہی ہوتا ہے۔

رسالک کیلئے یہ بھی ضروری ہے کہ اسے معرفت کی تربیت وجود ہو معرفت دو طرح کا ہے معرفت نفس خود اور معرفت حق تعالیٰ (شنا سائی نفس و شنا سائی پروردگار) لیکن ان دونوں میں مقدم معرفت نفس ہے کیونکہ جس شخص نے اپنے آپ کو نہیں پہچانا اس نے خدا کو نہیں پہچانا چنانچہ ”من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه“۔

اور تواضع اور انکرتار ہے اور نماز عشاء کے بعد اپنے پیران طریقت کا تجربہ پڑھیے۔

ہدایت المخلصین کا یہ باب مختصر ہے۔ اس باب میں بابا جیدر نے کسب معاش بطریق حسنة پر بھی زیادہ زور دیا ہے۔ تو آموز سالک کو حرام کھانے سے پرہیز کرنے کی تلقین کی ہے اور نفقہ حلال جو اپنی کمائی اور اپنے ہاتھ سے کسب کیا جا چکا ہو، اس کی برتری کی وضاحت کی ہے۔

ہدایت المخلصین کا دوسرا باب تو آموز سالک کے اشتغال سے متعلق ہے۔ اس باب میں شیخ جیدر سالک کو اپنے مشق کے تباہ ہونے سے متعلق پر کامزن ہونے کی نصیحت کرتے ہوئے لکھتے ہیں کہ سالک کو رات کا کچھ حصہ شرعی مسائل اور احادیث کے مطالعے میں گزارنا چاہیے۔ کچھ حصہ آرام میں اور آخر ہوسکے تو بیدار رہ کر چشم دل بخفی ذات حق کے لئے کھلی رکھے۔

بابا جیدر کے بقول مبتدی کے لئے یہ بھی ضروری ہے کہ وہ صائم الدھر (ہمیشہ روزہ دار)

قایم البلیل (شب بیدار) اور تارک اللعم (گوشت نہ کھاتے والا) ہو کیوں کہ یہ سالک ان چیزوں کا باندہ ہو اور وظائف اور اذکار وادکار میں ہمیشہ محو ہو تو لقیۃً عالم ارواح اور عالم ملکوت کے راز و منکشف کر سکتا ہے۔ سالک اپنے نفس امارہ کو پہچان کر ہی انسان یا آدمی ہے اور مذکورہ بالا اشتغال کے انجام دینے سے انسان کی خودی محو ہو جاتی ہے۔ لیکن پھر بھی وہ انسان مطلق نہیں کہلا یا جاسکتا۔ انسان کا وجود دراصل اس کی حقیقت ہے جو انسان کے وفات پاتے تک ساتھ نہیں چھوڑتا بلکہ جسم دراصل روح کے تابع ہے اور جس نے روح کا اتباع کیا اُس نے حقیقت پائی۔

سالک کو بابا جیدر کے بقول غافل لوگوں اور غورتوں کی صحبت سے گریز کرنا چاہیے۔ قنۃ انیکیز اور آستوب آمیز لوگوں کو ملنے سے پرہیز اور اہل منصب، سلاطین اور امارت جیسے دولت مند لوگوں کی صحبت سے اجتناب کرنا چاہیے۔ اس طرح سے شغل بد (ہاتھ شغل زبان، شغل نفس، شغل چشم اور شغل گوش وغیرہ جیسے اشتغال بھی اپنی اہمیت رکھتے ہیں شغل بد سے مراد بڑے کاموں سے ہاتھ کو بچانا ہے، شغل زبان سے مراد زبان سے اوراد وظائف وادکار پڑھنے، شغل دل سے مراد یہ کہ دل میں اللہ کھڑے اور ماسوائے اللہ تمام چیزوں سے نفی کرے شغل نفس یہ ہے کہ نفس کے آثار و چڑھاؤ میں یاد حق شامل ہو شغل چشم سے مراد یہ ہے کہ جو کچھ دیکھیں وہ حق پر مبنی ہو بلکہ خفارت سے نہ دیکھیں۔ اور شغل گوش درحقیقت یہ ہے کہ اپنے کانوں کو اچھا سننے کی عادت ڈالے۔

ہدایت المخلصین کا تیسرا باب سالک کے اذکار کے بارے میں ہے اس باب میں بابا جیدر سالک کو ذکر کے طریقوں سے واقف کراتے ہیں حضرت شیخ غمرہ نے جس ذکر کی اجازت خود بابا جیدر کو دی تھی۔

سے بہرہ بہتہ میں کوئی پاک نہیں کہ ان کا سہ ولادت 891ھ ہے۔ یہ وہ زمانہ ہے جب کشمیر میں سلطان محمد شاہ شہمیری (889-892ھ) بار اولیٰ حکمران تھا۔

ہدایت المخلصین پانچ ابواب پر مشتمل بابا جید کے تصوف و عرفان کے علاوہ حضرت مخدوم رحمہ کے کشف و کرامات اور ان کے مریدوں سے متعلق تحفہ میں اکبری دور میں فارسی نثر کی ایک عمدہ تصنیف ہے حضرت مخدوم بابا جید کے مرشد کامل اور راہ سلوک میں ان کے پیشوا اور پیر طریقت تھے۔ اگرچہ یہ کتاب راہ سلوک میں گامزن ہونے والے سالک کی راہنمائی کے لئے تحریر کی گئی ہے لیکن کتاب کا بیشتر حصہ حضرت مخدوم کے مقامات و کرامات پر وقف کیا گیا ہے مصنف نے مذکورہ کتاب کو مندرجہ ذیل پانچ حصوں میں تقسیم کیا ہے۔

باب اول - در اعمال مبتدی

باب دوم - در اشتغال مبتدی

باب سببوم - در ادکار مبتدی

باب چہارم - در محبت و شوق و صلاح و تقویٰ و نکتہ ہای نصایح از کلام تصوف وغیرہ کہ بعض از سر مودہ پیر و دیگر است،

باب پنجم - در بعضی احوالات قطب الاقطاب و غوث الافاق سلطان المشائخ محبوب جانی و

مطلوب صمدانی و معشوق ربانی و مقصود ویزدانی حضرت مخدوم شیخ محمد شہمیری مد اللہ تعالیٰ

طلبہ علی جمعا المخلصین والمہربین الی پورہ الفیجہ

پہلے باب میں بابا جید تزیلہ مولیٰ نے راہ سلوک میں نو آموز سالک کے اعمال کا جائزہ لینے ہوئے لکھا ہے کہ جب سالک اپنے مرشد کی خدمت میں آجائے تو مرشد کے لئے لازمی ہے کہ وہ سالک کو نماز پنجگانہ بجا آتے ادا کرنے کی تلقین کرے اور جب مبتدی کو اس کی عادت ہو جائے تو ہمیشہ اسے عبادت میں مشغول رہنے کی تعلیم دے بلکہ نماز فجر سے طلوع تک مبتدی کو دنیاوی معاملات میں مشغول نہ رہنے کا درس دے اور وظایف و اوراد میں یہ وقت گزارنے کا اسے درس دے۔ میندی نماز مشرق سے چاشت تک ہر روز ترکانِ مجید کی تلاوت کرتا رہے۔ زوال کے وقت اپنے مرشد کی صحبت میں جائے۔ نماز ظہر سے عصر تک کسب معاش میں مشغول رہے لیکن یہ کسب معاش مذہبی قوانین کے تحت حلال ہو۔ نماز عصر سے مغرب کی نماز تک کسی کے ساتھ دنیاوی معاملات میں مشغول نہ ہو بلکہ اپنے مرشد کے دئے ہوئے وظایف میں مصروف رہے مغرب سے عشاء کی نماز تک فضا

بابا حیدر تیلہ مولیٰ اور انکی تصنیف ہدایت المخلصین

ڈاکٹر محمد صدیق

بابا حیدر نہ صرف ایک بڑے عالم اور اپنے زمانے کے ممتاز دانشور تھے بلکہ وہ عربی زبان میں بھی مہارت رکھتے تھے۔ ہدایت المخلصین میں جو کشمیر میں ایک اور پھنکیری دور کی فارسی نثر و نظم اور قصوف و غزل کا ایک بہترین مرتبہ ہے انہوں نے بر محل قرآنی آیات اور احادیث سے اس کی عبارات کو آراستہ کیا ہے۔ اس کے علاوہ بابا حیدر ایک اچھے شاعر بھی تھے۔ لیکن ان کا مجموعہ کلام دستیاب نہیں۔ البتہ ان کے کہے ہوئے چند مناقب اور ان کی چند غزلیں ہدایت المخلصین میں ملتی ہیں۔

ہدایت المخلصین کا جو قدیم ترین نسخہ کتب خانہ کشمیر یونیورسٹی شریعتیہ مخطوطات میں زیر شمارہ ۴۹۷ موجود ہے وہ ۱۱۳۱ھ میں محمد افضل ولد محمد مراد نے نقل کیا ہے۔ نسخہ کے اختتام پر جہاں کاتب نے اپنا نام تحریر کیا ہے وہی اس کے نیچے کاتب مذکور نے یادداشت کے طور پر بابا حیدر کی تاریخ وفات کیوں درج کی ہے۔

”تاریخ فوت حضرت میر سید تیلہ مولیٰ قدس سرہ، در شب دوم شہر محرم الحرام ۹۹۹ھ روز یکشنبہ وقت یر آمدن آفتاب“

ہدایت المخلصین کے سال تصنیف کے بارے میں شیخ حیدر یوں رقمطراز ہیں۔

”این نسخہ کہ مسمیٰ بہ ہدایت المخلصین است، در ستم ہند و نود و سہ از ہجرات گذشتہ بود کہ در قلم آمدہ است“ اس کے بعد آخری صفحہ پر دوبارہ اس کی وضاحت کرتے ہوئے لکھا ہے کہ:

”ایں کتاب کہ از کلیات احوالات حضرت محبوب العالم جبریلیت بطریق مختصر در ستم ثلث و تسعین و تسعمائتہ (۹۹۳ھ) با تمام ہویت“

مندرجہ بالا عبارات سے پتہ چلتا ہے کہ شیخ حیدر نے ہدایت المخلصین کتاب ۹۹۳ھ میں یا تیرہ کھیل تک پہنچائی ہے اور اس وقت انہوں نے طویل عمر پائی تھی یعنی ۹۹۳ھ میں ان کی عمر ایک سو دو سال تھی۔ اس لحاظ

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